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ABSTRACT

This philosophical venture examines the nature of power, an inescapable concern in contemporary life and modern thought. The first chapter discusses the context and meaning of power. It suggests that morality and power are not mutually exclusive and calls to mind Lawrence Kohlberg's outline of the stages of moral development as a useful schema. A contextual definition of power is introduced and seven arenas of power are identified and related to the educational environment: (1) existential; (2) paideia; (3) dialectical; (4) ethos; (5) legalistic; (6) manipulative; and (7) brute force. These power arenas are discussed and outlined in the following four chapters. Power is viewed as a primary need in the existence of every person, and the power arenas are shown to demonstrate major stances and climates in human experience and expression. In conclusion, the hypothesis is forwarded that in American society today, in the lives of its people and in its schools, the dominating power arenas are those of the legalistic, manipulative, and brute force. The difficulty this creates for those who hold onto the philosophic perspectives of ethos, dialectical, paideia, and existential power arenas is pointed out. (MM)

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THE ARENAS OF POWER: FOCUS ON SCHOOLING

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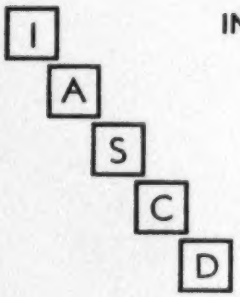

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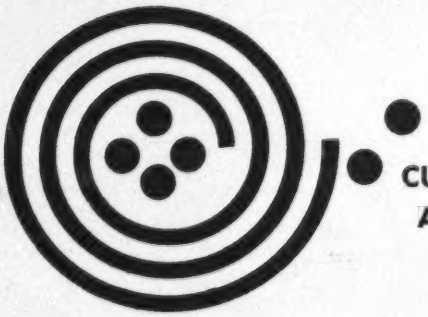
Russell L. Hamm
William E. Brownson

And

Introduction by
William Van Til



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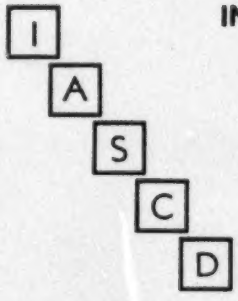

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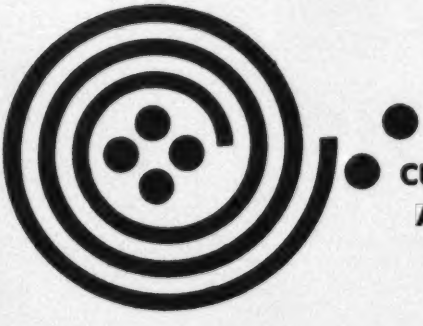

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PREFACE

Throughout history, in the lives of both individuals and societies, power has been central in human affairs. A society is characterized not only by its facts and assumptions premised on its stability and/or change, but also by a system of power relations between conflicting social groups. Yet educators--yes, all of us--have maintained an innocence about the uses, expressions, and forms of power. Only of recent times have we educators even begun to consider and advocate power relationships. But what kind of power? Power for what end? Power for whom? Power to do what and why?

True, educators have become increasingly aware of power as it shapes individuals, groups, and situations. Recent issues over busing, the bureaucratization of schools, the rights of students, the costs of operating schools, the growth of teacher organizations, increasing school violence and vandalism, the adaption and use of textbooks and other instructional materials have caused us to acknowledge the centrality of power to the operation and process of schooling.

Amidst the critical challenges expressed by many to the function and structure of schooling as they exist now and have existed in our past are demands for effective, meaningful educational programs relevant to our continually changing society. Curriculum workers, charged specifically with the task of program development, feel this challenge keenly. Often, though, curriculum workers find themselves at the mercy of forces which they may or may not understand but over which they are in no way able to exercise control. Sometimes, even curriculum workers find themselves caught up in a power struggle with the battleground being the public schools.

Indiana ASCD is most fortunate in this day and time to be able to provide for its members an insightful treatment of the subject of power. This monograph, prepared by Russ Hamm and Bill Brownson, not only analyzes the question of power but attempts to develop a framework for understanding power as a fundamental dimension in the lives of individuals and groups with specific attention devoted to the consideration of power as it is found and expressed in the schools of today.

Such insight is of value to each of us as we cope with reality and attempt to deter power that is counter-productive and self-defeating for American public schools and their educational programs.

William L. Walker
Executive Secretary, IASCD

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INTRODUCTION

The Arenas of Power: Focus on Schooling is a thoughtful and provocative venture into philosophy via the subject of power. The authors, Professors Russell L. Hamm and William E. Brownson of the Social Foundations Faculty of Indiana State University's School of Education, are well equipped and qualified for the venture.

The authors recognize that power--its meaning, forms, significance--is an escapable concern in contemporary life and in modern thought. So they examine the nature of power, drawing on sociological and psychological formulations by earlier writers. They comment:

> The major analyses of power, for the most part, have been of one of two types: sociological (e.g., Russell and Weber), or psychological (e.g., Adler). The sociological analytic perspective tends to restrict the psychological dimension of power to the consideration of individual efforts to control or influence others and typically excludes the consideration of the fundamental human need for power. The psychological approach to the analysis of power is typically inadequate because of the failure to relate the fundamental human need for power to the social-contextual field within which the need for power is expressed and fulfilled. The perspective developed in our analysis is an attempt to integrate the sociological and psychological analyses of power.

This makes good sense to the writer of this introduction who has steadily maintained in the field of curriculum that both the psychological perspective related to the needs, wants, and concerns of the learner and the sociological perspective related to the problems, dilemmas, and demands of the society must be included in the development of the curriculum.

The thinking of the authors has obviously been stimulated by Kohlberg's studies in moral growth. Kohlberg set forth six moral stages and argued that moral growth means to move from a premoral stage through each six successive stages arranged in hierarchical order. Consequently, the authors of *The Arenas of Power: Focus on Schooling* have asked themselves whether power, like moral growth, evolves developmentally and whether power can be arranged in a hierarchy--one level higher than another.

Clearly, these are extremely difficult and highly controversial questions. But they are questions that should be raised. Fortunately, the authors avoid premature and oversimplified answers.

In what this reader hopes is the opening of continuing study of power by Hamm and Brownson, the major contribution of the authors is to suggest, describe, and explain seven "arenas" of power and what they imply

for schooling. Unlike Kohlberg's approach to stages, the authors at this point in the development of their analysis do not presume to rank the arenas "since the first can be last and the last first depending upon the reader's own philosophic bias and mind set." To this reader, the authors have made a substantial contribution by the very act of opening dialogue and study on power and its implications for education through their discussions of seven arenas and their descriptions of a "focus on schooling" for each. The seven arenas suggested are:

1. Existential
2. Paideia
3. Dialectical
4. Ethos
5. Legalistic
6. Manipulative
7. Brute Force

The authors are fair and objective in their analysis of each arena.

In their chapter "Comments and Conclusions", the authors state their "hypothesis that in American society today, in the lives of its people, and in our schools, the dominating power arenas are those of the legalistic, the manipulative, and brute force." They point out perceptively the difficulty this creates for those who hold to the philosophic perspectives which they term ethos, dialectical, paideia, and existential.

Through their study of power, Hamm and Brownson raise fundamental questions as to philosophy. As they say in closing:

> The idea structure within each power arena is itself a power philosophy. Hence, to argue over the legitimacy of different power arenas is to argue over philosophy and conversely to argue over philosophy is so often to argue, at least implicitly, about which power arenas are legitimate. Hierarchical arrangements of power are at least implicitly hierarchical arrangements of philosophies.

Thus the authors invite needed discussions of philosophy through their publication, "which is intended to provide an analysis of the nature and meaning of power and a description of the dynamics of power in the context of schools." As one who shares John Dewey's faith in growth, I anticipate that such discussions will be healthy and helpful.

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Chapter I

THE CONTEXT AND MEANING OF POWER

Perhaps the decade of the seventies in retrospect will be a turning point, for better or worse, in the great American experiment. In a sense it has already been the decade when Americans lost their innocence. The trauma that came out of the demise of Camelot, the defeat in Viet Nam, and the media spectacle of Watergate may have created conditions causing the ordinary American to re-examine his basic beliefs. Never before--not even during the War Between the States or the Depression--have the dreams and the myths of the American mystique been so threatened as by the accumulation of events since 1960. Television brought brutality and blood into the family living room. The battle of the black person could no longer be ignored: He was no longer invisible. The great American middle class observed their children confronting the educational establishment--and the police and the military power--and parents could only shake their heads and wonder what had gone wrong. Not only this; the assassination of national leaders occurred in their homes--in living color. Had the world gone mad? They also observed their children rejecting the economic security of establishment jobs in favor of personal crafts and communal life. And as they buttered their bread which cost twice as much as five years before, they watched huge ships carrying our wheat off to the Soviet Union. How thin must be the veneer of civilization? There was an ever-increasing awareness that even in America there is an abyss between the ideal and the actual, between the words and the deeds.

In recent years there has been a deluge of articles and books dealing with power. The intriguing question is, Why? Perhaps the decline and fall of the imperial presidency is a factor; the American president was often described as the most powerful man in the world. Also, as a result of the Viet Nam entanglement and withdrawal, many ordinary Americans came to the realization that America could no longer be the policeman of the world, that there were limits to American military power. The Arab embargo on oil demonstrated that there was a limit, also, to American economic and political power in the changing world. On the American domestic scene there were minority groups demanding a piece of the action, expressing their power in a multiplicity of ways, ranging from rioting in the streets to rhetoric and publicity, to use of the ballot box. And emerging out of all of this was the recognition that people--individuals--must have personal power to lead a healthy and meaningful life--expressed in the so-called youth rebellion and the women's movement.

So, the current socio-political, economic milieu that exists in America--post Viet Nam, post Watergate--has forced the human organism to re-examine one of the most basic of human needs: power.

In all of the analyses of the past decade and the rhetoric about Watergate, one of the most intriguing, perceptive comments was made by Walter Feinberg:

> It is one thing for each of us to know individually that a man is shady, but it is another for each of us to know that the other person knows it, and to know too that he knows we know it. The conservative who suggests that Congress' earlier reluctance to investigate closely the Bobby Baker scandal indicates an anti-Nixon bias in the Watergate case may have a very important insight. His only problem is that he uses it as an excuse to vindicate Nixon rather than to examine the influences of the economic and political power structure on American cultural life. *Indeed there may be no more significant sign of the problem with our educational institutions than the ease with which the centers of power can manipulate emotions to their own end.*[1] (Italics added.)

In reality shock, in knowing with less innocence, in knowing in this new mode--rests one of the many reasons for the plethora of books and articles dealing with power. When the old gods are destroyed, the uncertain man reaches out for a power beyond self--religion, authorities, interest groups, pseudo-science--to the very mechanisms of power itself.

And as Feinberg suggests, the consideration of power implicates an examination of educational institutions. This will be the focus of our analysis of power. At the outset, however, it is necessary to consider further the meaning of power and the context of our loss of innocence about the use of power in human affairs.

Somehow ordinary Americans avoided the word *power*, at least when it dealt with human relations, although Norman Vincent Peale had written *The Power of Positive Thinking* in 1952. Like sex, power was unmentionable in polite company. The ordinary person professed innocence about power, but, nonetheless, it was there. It was as if power was something naughty--unique to politicians, diplomats, bankers, gangsters. But with the loss of innocence, the ordinary person has suddenly and uncomfortably come to recognize the importance and pervasiveness of power even in the nicest of institutions: the family, the church, the school.*

---

*Parents feel threatened by the bussing of their children to schools across town and the use in schools of books which are seen as anti-American and anti-Christ. Church members have similarily been shocked and dismayed by the discovery that their church supports causes and efforts in the social-political arena which they personally reject. The new sociological setting has lessened the power of the family; mothers and fathers see dysfunction in families--divorce, delinquency; and there is no longer a core of values to give guidance and security to child rearing.

And most frightening of all: Ignoring the importance of power will not cause it to go away. In the "new awakening," a person ignores power at his own peril.

What is disturbing about many of the new books examining power, especially two recent best sellers--Korda's *Power: How To Get It, How To Use It*[2] and Ringer's *Winning Through Intimidation*[3]--is the manipulative kind of power that they strive to make into a formula for life, a new kind of security blanket. As *Time* magazine has noted: "Though drubbed by reviewers for their oversimplified and sometimes silly Machiavellian advice, the two books have already sold half a million copies. . . ." According to *Time*: "Both books are cashing in on the nation's current mood of disillusionment and individual helplessness, which social scientists see as the sour product of the recession and the dashed hopes of the 1960's."[4] These two books hark back to a form of individualism deeply rooted in the conditions of seventeenth and eighteenth century America, an individualism of using, of objectifying, of manipulating.

Individualism and power in the nineteenth and twentieth century are not so different in basic philosophy. There is just more efficiency and expedition in more recent times, helped immeasurably by the advancing technology in tools and machines. From Eli Whitney's interchangeable parts and the assembly line to freeways, jet travel, and television, man is more and more helpless as a non-specialist in the accelerated technological age. This was symbolically represented by the loss of audio during the first Carter-Ford debate: The President of the United States and the possible future president stood helpless, even subservient, waiting for the technology to be repaired.

No wonder that the concrete and steel of the megalopolis is perceived by many as a new kind of jungle--almost free of trees and wild birds and animals, but nonetheless a jungle. Interestingly enough in Ringer's book the human being is portrayed as a jungle animal. The turtle and the hare are Ringer's re-occurring symbols.

In this current atmosphere of almost obsessive concern with power, there is a need to re-examine what is the nature of power. One may recall the work of Laurence Kohlberg and his outline of the stages of moral development. Morality and power are not mutually exclusive categories, and one is struck by Kohlberg's first quotation from the works of John Dewey in a recent article in *Phi Delta Kappan*.[5] Included in this quotation is the following sentence, which upon a moment's reflection is most provoking: "Ethical and psychological principles can aid the school in the *greatest of all constructions--the building of a free and powerful character*."[6] What is haunting is the sudden realization that both Kohlberg and Dewey recognize the significance of human power.

Kohlberg's schema may be helpful, but does power evolve developmentally in the same way Kohlberg perceives moral development occurring? And most significantly, can power be arranged in a hierarchy--one level higher than another?

Adolf Berle has outlined five natural laws of power. They are as follows:

> *One*: Power invariably fills any vacuum in human organization. As between chaos and power, the latter always prevails.
>
> *Two*: Power is invariably personal. There is no such thing as "class power," "elite power," or "group power," though classes, elites, and groups may assist processes of organization by which power is lodged in individuals.
>
> *Three*: Power is invariably based on a system of ideas or philosophy. Absent such a system or philosophy, the institutions essential to power cease to be reliable, power ceases to be effective, and the power holder is eventually displaced.
>
> *Four*: Power is exercised through, and depends on, institutions. By their existence, they limit, come to control, and eventually confer or withdraw power.
>
> *Five*: Power is invariably confronted with and acts in the presence of, a field of responsibility. The two constantly interact, in hostility or co-operation, in conflict or through some form of dialogue, organized or unorganized, made part of, or perhaps intruding into, the institutions on which power depends.[7]

Berle's laws are helpful in that they posit and make explicit a realistic philosophical rationale for power,* but these natural laws of power also raise questions. Natural law number two can be read almost as a contradiction, i.e., it is internally inconsistent. In addition, natural laws two and four can be read as conflicting propositions. It also should be noted that a system of ideas or philosophy need not be explicit or written down. But more significantly the laws are more in the nature of axioms and propositions; they are descriptive and do not conjecture consequences; that is, they do not implicate the operational. However, natural law number five is generative and projects to specifics of power application. Just how, however, is the field of responsibility determined? By probing, interacting? And must a field of responsibility be perceived as dichotomous . . . and in conflict?

Rollo May has listed five levels of power he sees as present as potentialities in every human being's life: The power to be, self-affirmation, self-assertion, aggression, and violence.[8] May's focus here is the individual frame of reference. Are these the only levels? Are there not a variety of ways to express self-assertion, for example? In addition, May has also outlined five kinds of power: exploitative, manipulative, competitive, nutrient, and integrative.[9] The focus here is social: He refers to power against another, for the other, with the other, etc. What is the difference between May's levels of power and kinds of power? What is the interaction between levels and kinds of power? Like Kohlberg, there seems to be an implicit *a priori* bias--of better or worse, whether referring to levels of power or kinds of power.

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*Berle's natural laws of power evolve smoothly from the political philosophies of England represented in the writings of Hume, Hobbes, and Locke; and there is an echo even of Thomas Jefferson.

WHAT IS POWER?

Just what is power? The dictionary gives a multiplicity of definitions: The ability to do or act; the possession of control or command over others; delegated authority; one who or that which possesses or exercises authority or influence. It is most evident that power has a variety of distinctive meanings in contemporary language use. Lewis Mumford, however, makes a telling point. He directs our attention to a changing meaning of power in the English language. Mumford writes:

> The "New English Dictionary" traces the definition of power as "possession of control or command over others" back to 1297; it then in 1486 shifts to legal ability, capacity, or authority to act; but in 1727 power takes on a technological role as "any form of energy or force available for application to work." Finally, with the construction of the megamachine, all the modes of power become available for work--both constructive and destructive--on a colossal scale otherwise unattainable.[10]

Mumford then adds that the megamachine is *not* a mere administrative organization, but a machine in the orthodox technical sense. He concludes, most significantly, by arguing that each of these forms of power re-enforces the other: The power of the megamachine comes to be a legitimate (i.e., it holds authority) power of control or command over others.

This sense of power, the potentially cataclysmic power of man through his machines is distinctive of the condition of modern man and dwells deep within our nightmares. It often leaves us with a sense of desperate fatalism. Under these circumstances the sense of power as the power of the individual person simply "to do or to act" may be even more important for our consideration. Every person, child or adult, needs power in order to exist, to endure. Otherwise, the person falls into the abyss of apathy and dies at an early age. As Friedrich Nietzsche wrote in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*: "Whenever I found the living, there I found the will to power." Otherwise it is as Edgar Z. Friedenberg wrote in *Coming of Age in America*: "All weakness tends to corrupt, and impotence corrupts absolutely."[11]

A major milestone in the evolution of the meaning of power was Alfred Adler's break-away from the teaching of Freud. Adler believed human beings are not dominated by what he called "blind" irrational instincts operating on an unconscious level, but rather they are governed by a conscious desire to express and fulfill themselves as unique individuals. Adler argued, differing from Freud, that power, more than sex, is the prime determinant of human personality. So Adler established a new frame-of-reference for examining power, and paved the way for the so-called humanistic-existential psychologists that were to follow. It must be noted, however, that the more recent works of Ringer and Korda fit within this general perspective also.

The Adlerian focus on personal power can easily be demonstrated in considering the very young child. In the demands that the child

makes on the mother or others around him the baby expresses the drive for power. In extreme instances the three-year-old child controls the entire family; by parents not being firm, by their responding to the baby's every demand, a "monster" has been created, even though still physically weak and intellectually and emotionally "immature." By tantrums, crying fits, throwing things, the egocentric baby has centered power in himself--the life of the family revolves about him.

Just as Adler broke new ground in the personal-psychological meaning of power, Bertrand Russell[12] and Max Weber[13] accentuated the meaning of power in the social sciences. For both, the analysis of power is central to the analysis of the internal and external dynamics of societies. In the introductory chapter of his book, *Power: A New Social Analysis*, Russell states:

> In the course of this book I shall be concerned to prove that the fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics.[14]
>
> The laws of social dynamics are--so I shall contend--only capable of being stated in terms of power in its various forms.[15]

Russell, however, was familiar with the works of Adler and although the focus of his analysis is upon power in societies, his underlying concept of power is consistent with Adler's basic psychological thesis. Russell argues:

> While animals are content with existence and reproduction, men desire also to expand, and their desires in this respect are limited only by what imagination suggests as possible . . . .
>
> Of the infinite desires of man, the chief are the desires of power and glory.[16]

Russell also argues that power is the same whatever tools it uses or forms it takes. It might express itself through wealth, armament, civil authority, influence on opinion, military command, or top position in an economic pyramid.

In order to make more explicit the meaning of power which underlies the analysis which follows, we shall consider more carefully the definitions of power provided by Weber and Russell. Weber makes it explicit that he is restricting his use of the term *power* to its sociological context, and thereby means in particular by power the "probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance regardless of the basis upon which this probability rests."[17] It is evident that Weber's sociological sense of power does not subsume all power in the Adlerian sense. Nor does the Weberian definition include all power (in the sense of power as influence) which may be functionally important in our understanding of the dynamics of social interaction. An individual may be influential within a social context without either imposing one's will upon others, or even intending any influence at all. It is important to note this restricted nature of Weber's use of the term *power*.

There is a distinctively different thrust to Russell's definition of power. Russell states that "Power may be defined as the production of intended effects."[18] The centrality of intentionality in Russell's definition must be recognized. It may be argued that this is at least implicit in Weber's definition and is consistent with his development of the concept, yet it does not seem to be logically entailed by Weber's definition. In this regard Russell's definition is much more consistent with the Adlerian concept of power as a conscious desire. Yet as one reads on in Russell's *Power: A New Social Analysis* it becomes apparent that his *use* of the term in this book is more consistent with Weber's restricted sociological meaning of power. Thus the works of Weber and Russell developed a new rationale for examining the dynamics of societies and established a further dimension for the examination of power through their focus upon the ways groups interact to achieve goals, meet needs, or impose their will upon others.

But again recall that Russell's definition of power is much broader than his analysis would suggest. Consider the following passage found towards the end of his book in which he clearly returns (if only for a moment) to his original definition:

> Love of power, in its widest sense, is the desire to be able to produce intended effects upon the outer world, whether human or non-human. This desire is an essential part of human nature, and in energetic men it is a very large and important part. Every desire, if it cannot be instantly gratified, brings about a wish for the ability to gratify it, and therefore some form of the love of power. This is true of the best desires as well as the worst. If you love your neighbor, you will wish for power to make him happy. To condemn *all* love of power, therefore, is to condemn love of your neighbor.[19]

As noted, Russell does little with this extended meaning of power and it is not our intent to attempt to expand Russell's analysis within his particular philosophical framework. We do wish, however, to use the term *power* in a broad enough manner to include both its sociological sense as well as its Adlerian meaning which is acknowledged by Russell at least in passing.

The major analyses of power, for the most part, have been of one of two types: sociological (e.g., Russell and Weber), or psychological (e.g., Adler). The sociological analytic perspective tends to restrict the psychological dimension of power to the consideration of individual efforts to control or influence others and typically excludes the consideration of the fundamental human need for power. The psychological approach to the analysis of power is typically inadequate because of the failure to relate the fundamental human need for power to the social-contextual field within which the need for power is expressed and fulfilled. The perspective developed in our analysis is an attempt to integrate the sociological and psychological analyses of power.

Such an integration requires the recognition of man's need for power. To be human is to need to produce intended effects in one's world; it is to need to be influential; it is to need to establish and

fulfill one's goals, purposes, and desires. We are concerned with power expressed in, or derived from, distinctively human existence and interaction. Hence we are not concerned with the power of a tidal wave or of electricity *per se*. It must also be acknowledged that power in the context of human efforts does not always involve an effort to influence or control others. Failure to recognize this is a major shortcoming of many existent analyses of power. Sociological analyses of power which attempt to understand the dynamics of human interactions may in fact exclude significant factors in human interactions when they are restricted to the consideration of the possibilities of imposing one's will upon others. Understanding man individually *and* collectively requires an analysis of power which in examining the dynamics of human interaction and influence is not restricted to efforts to impose one's will upon the thought and action of others.

An integrated approach to the analysis of power requires, moreover, a recognition of the fact that power is contextual--power exists in particular situations in which a person seeks to fulfill some purpose, goal, or desire. The purpose, goal, or desire delimits a bounded field of transaction with one's world within which one experiences empowerment or impotency; within which purpose, goal, or desire is fulfilled or frustrated. In turn, the circumstances of one's place in the world delimit the possibilities, including alternative means available, for fulfilling purpose and the need for power. It is this contextual dimension of power in human experience which is intended by the use of the expression "arenas of power."

ARENAS OF POWER

To search out the source(s) of power a different rationale is developed here. Rather than words like stages, laws, levels, or kinds of power, the word arena was chosen intentionally to make a distinction. Arena is used because power is contingent on the situation. Power is a dynamic process of action, interaction, and reaction to another person or persons. Power is always a human enterprise--even though it may be expressed instrumentally through impact on artifacts, tools, or environment. Power in itself is neither good nor bad except as it is open to interpretation by the parties involved. Neither is power evolutionary or developmental. Nor is it telic in the sense of the ends being implicit in the means. Power *is expressed*, in the arena of human events, in a non-static human setting.

It appears that there are at least seven arenas of power. And every human being, because of the complex world in which he lives, may be aware of each of the arenas of human power in the course of a single day--in playing his roles or in avoiding playing roles.

These seven arenas of power are as follows:

1. Existential
2. Paideia
3. Dialectical
4. Ethos
5. Legalistic
6. Manipulative
7. Brute Force

These arenas of power are not ranked by levels of power or degrees of power, since the first can be last and the last first depending on the reader's own philosophical bias and mind set. Neither are these arenas of power the same as kinds of power, if kind of power is defined in a static, descriptive sense--or are they no more than cognitive subsets. It is within arenas of power that the need for power of human individuals is manifested, fulfilled, or frustrated. We may at times choose, even prefer, some power arenas over others, yet at other times we simply find ourself there. Arenas of power deal with the dynamic modes of power, with the parameters of power, with the contextuality of power, with the stance or intentionality of power--its expression and application. The arenas of power can only truly be expressed in experience, and always the arenas of power must be viewed from a particular stance, a point of view. There is no objective reality. The shorthand descriptions of the arenas of power outlined in the following are projections to active involvement; and the more specific schooling focus in each instance is hypothetical--providing possibilities for conjecturing educational consequences.

Chapter II

THE POWER TO BE

Existential

The existential arena of power does not exist as a definitive structure: It is not verifiable in any objective sense. This power arena exists in human subjectivity and intentionality: It is a goal never fully achieved. Impressions and appearances can be misleading, for there is no real way to discover what-goes-on-there in individual existence.

The existential arena of power begins and ends with individual power. The person appropriates (not creates) his or her own life style. But this is more than a live-and-let-live power, because it requires the recognition of the presence of the other person as a person and in return being recognized as a person. The question might be asked: What if one person does not recognize another person as a subject? What if one person tries to objectify or manipulate another? Is this, then, no longer an existential power arena? There is no definitive answer, because a determination cannot be made as to the intention of the person who appears to be manipulating. Is it in jest? Is it no more than an attempt to get another to recognize his subjectivity? Is this no more than provocation, the attempt to energize the power arena to accentuate individual potential and subjectivity? This power arena denies neither the past nor cultural traditions: Out of the multiplicity of possibilities, the individual chooses. By exploring the alternatives of truth and beauty, value and reality in an "open" way, freedom and power become clarified in responsibility.

This arena of power is concerned with the flow, the process of human interaction in and of itself; the process of becoming, rather than the establishment of closure or institutionalized understandings and arrangements.

The reality of this power vectors outwardly, actively, from each person's individual commitment, held authentically but assumptionally. And let this be made clear: Although it is impossible ever to truly know, explicitly and definitely, the "other," nonetheless, the attempt must be made. The resources available in trying to know the "other" are "vibes," "encounters," "contacts" . . . nothing measurable, tangible, objectifiable, empirical. Yet one comes to know oneself as one comes to know others.

In this arena of power, the focus is on individual persons--as subjects--yet, the individual as individual is questing for value, not only for himself but for "mankind." The arena is pervaded by questions. He uses neither coercion nor persuasion.

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The existential arena of power does not put people against people. There is not a climate of trying to develop a schema or hierarchy for control-relationships between people. Neither is there a climate of trying to bring people together in pursuit of some group goal or ideal. Nor is it necessarily a climate of demonstrations or reaction against the status quo or the establishments. The existential arena of power moves neither toward a climate of yes-persons nor a climate of no-persons. A disciple is a yes-man controlled by external forces; a rebel is a no-man controlled by external forces. Neither disciple nor rebel is free to appropriate and develop his individual power freely and responsibly.

To influence is not necessarily to control. To simply exist as a person is to exist with the possibility of influencing another, but influence becomes control when through implicit or explicit coercion the individual no longer feels free to make his own decisions. From this perspective, persuasion may itself be coercive. On the other hand, a person may influence another when his ideas or characteristics are appropriated through individual choice.

In current slang, this arena of power can be said to be the person's "getting it together." And life is a series of "happenings." In more sophisticated terms, it is a non-dualistic, cognitive-conative homeostasis. It is the individual being-and-doing-in-the-world. It is the individual in the world which is seen as neither for nor against him. It is Sartre's "There is no reality except in action." And in spite of the acknowledgment of the significance of the subjectivity of others, the person recognizes his ultimate aloneness (not loneliness) and makes the most of it. One lifetime is enough--no regrets!

May's levels of power (see Chapter I), when viewed from the viewpoint of the arenas of power, are perhaps all within the parameters of existential power, for the anguish of choice always falls back on the person. Will the person murder, create? There is no answer in moral, value terms. In this arena of power there are no absolute *a priori* standards--in law, in community, or in consciousness, or mind, or spirit.

A slight digression can illustrate the idiosyncratic significance of reality and of power: The existential reality and existential power lie in the "eye" of the beholder. For example, imagine a young child watching his parents in love play, and perhaps the child cries because he views it as fighting, violence. What is violence? A person can be killed as easily with words as with a knife. Idiosyncratic response? To not see a person can be viewed by the other as a slight. Idiosyncratic response? A stare can cut to the bone. Idiosyncratic response?

In Hitler's "will to power" he would create the super-man, the super-state. He appropriated his value structure, insofar as we know, truly and authentically. From his point of view in all likelihood he thought he was being true to himself as well as to his Fatherland and to all mankind. On the other hand, there were those who would just as sincerely and truly believe that his assassination would be a boon to mankind. The question being raised here is not whether existential

power is only a question of authenticity. The Hitler reference is simply a caveat. How does the person ever really know if he is leading the authentic life? How does he know if he has existential power or is existentially powerless?

The person must always live in the arena of human experience in order to be human. And are not choices to some degree limited--by sex, by race, by country? How is it ever possible to become free from the socio-cultural setting in which one by chance was born? Have not the limitations of experiences built ghettos? Nonetheless, the individual has the option of choosing his own myths and ghettos. It is thinkable; there are things unthinkable, because of the limitations of human experience itself.

Paradoxically, the human relationships in the existential arena of power can be viewed as a demonstration of the lowest level of power or the highest level of power--or anywhere in between. Suicide and violence are ever-present with ecstasy and love. Existential power can be the most dangerous for the individual and for society. For the only power is personal power: There is no control of people or places, nor is there a desire for such control. But what assurance does one person have that if he is subjective with another that the other will be subjective with him?

The existential power arena is concomitantly one of arrogance and humility, of will to power and of self-doubt.

Focus on Schooling

To translate existential power into what educational practitioners frequently designate as the real world of experience becomes difficult because it is defined in terms of inter-subjective human relationships. The existential arena of power does not exist as a static scheme, with specific empirical characteristics, for, in a sense, there are as many arenas of power as there are subjects involved. Even generalizations, descriptive statements, are inevitably translated into personal language; and when these statements become implicated in practice, the generalization is translated into a proliferation of options and ultimate possibilities.

As pointed out in a recent article by Anthony Polemeni, the power of a teacher is apparent in that teacher's decision-making influence. "The teacher's influence in making decisions is a very direct measure of power."[20] And this is an influence that cannot be escaped. Day-in, day-out, small and large decisions must be made by the classroom teacher. Even no decision is decision. From the teacher's point of view most often the question concerns the amount of freedom possessed in decision-making without prior community, administrative constraints. What is often not acknowledged is the limitation imposed by the teacher's own beliefs and values, that is, the teacher's own "mind-set." From the student's point of view, the question becomes how much freedom does he have in what he studies, how he studies, or if he studies.

In *The Open Classroom* Herbert R. Kohl makes a very telling point. He writes: "I . . . learned how to give up my power as a teacher (not delegate it but abrogate it) and how to help my pupils as well as become someone they could talk with."[21] Kohl gave up his *power as a teacher*; he did not give up his existential power, his personal power. Rather than a teacher--a role, an object--he became a person; and he came to view his pupils as persons.

Given a concern for existential power, whether teacher or administrator, great significance would be placed on the choice of systems or schools in which to work. When the contract is signed, the teacher or administrator has freely chosen *the degrees* of freedom and responsibility he can authentically live with. But, at the same time, this does not mean an eternal commitment--or as Tillich says of marriage, not a vow taken absolutely. Always the person has the right and the responsibility to say: This violates my rights as a person. A contract does not imply servitude or bondage. One is always free to abrogate the contract and take the responsibility for that action.

To live in the existential arena does not necessarily negate the writing of lesson plans, the maintenance of classroom order, or the teaching of subject matter. It would appear that in this arena, the concern would be with *howness* rather than with *whatness*. (How well we know that open education can be regimented!) The ideal, never reached, is the respect of the other--child or adult--providing the opportunity to pursue individual interests, permitting the growth of self-control.

In the existential arena of power each person is striving toward self-education; toward that knowledge which to him is of most worth; toward that action which is personally chosen. In the existential arena of power there are as many climates of learning as there are students. There is freedom for "you" to be "you" and "me" to be "me" and "us" to be "us," mutually acknowledged and respected. In this arena of power each individual struggles to be himself.

Chapter III

THE POWER OF CONSENSUS AND OF COMPROMISE

Very different from the active, existential arena of power are the interactive arenas of power. While the existential arena is assumptional in stance, the interactive power arenas are hypothetical. To be assumptional is to act *as if* the world were thus or so. In the existential arena all action, including thought, is assumptionally grounded. The hypothetical, in contrast, focuses upon the *if then* of our acting *as if*. The assumptional as assumption is not tested, verified, substantiated, or confirmed. The hypothetical focuses upon testing, verification or validation in experience, and this is a distinguishing characteristic of the interactive arenas of power.

The interactive power arenas involve cooperation with individuals and with groups. Interactive power arenas posit change and progress as essential elements. The two distinctive interactive power arenas are paideia (the Greek doctrine of balance or golden mean) and dialectics (the Hegelian doctrine of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis). At a high level of generalization, these two arenas of power seem very similar; but several contrasts can be made which, when implemented in educational practice, demonstrate significant differences.

PAIDEIA

Paideia focuses on individual in "socius." The individual is *in* and *of* experience, and language and communication are distinctive and essential characteristics of human experience. The ground of paideia is evident in the following passage from John Dewey's *Experience and Nature*:

> The heart of language is not "expression" of something antecedent, much less expression of antecedent thought. It is communication; the establishment of cooperation in an activity in which there are partners, and in which the activity of each is modified and regulated by partnership. To fail to understand is to fail to come into agreement in action; to misunderstand is to set up action at cross purposes.[22]

Paideia views not only the individual as a whole organism, subjective and objective, but also views the community as organic, both subjectively and objectively. This vision of paideia is expressed by Lewis Mumford in his book *The Pentagon of Power*:

> This explains, perhaps, why there is so little prospect of overcoming the defects of the power system by any attack that employs mass organizations and mass efforts at persuasion; for these mass methods support the very system they attack. The changes that have so far been effective, and that give promise of further success, are those that have been initiated by animated individual minds, small groups, and local communities nibbling at the edges of the power structure by breaking routines and defying regulations. Such an attack seeks, not to capture the citadel of power, but to withdraw from it and quietly paralyze it. Once such initiatives become widespread, as they at last show signs of becoming, it will restore power and confident authority to its proper source: the human personality and the small face-to-face community.[23]

The goal of paideia is consensus, not as represented in static institutionalized organizations, but as changing evolving patterns that emerge from input from the entire community in a field of responsibility. It takes its form from the uncoerced community. It is analogous to the salad bowl concept in ethnic-racial integration--not the ice cube tray. The individual is important: Every opportunity is given for the individual to express his belief and the reasons for his holding his particular belief. Yet the quest is for the individual in harmony with community.

Status and leadership evolve out of the situation. Every person can become a leader, but also the person must learn to become a follower as well. Power shifts with the needs of the clientele and the recognition and/or attribution of expertise.

There is always striving for conclusion, for closure, whether in politics or science. But it is recognized as just that--striving. Conclusions or consensus are tentative. If there is any absolute in this power process, it is change. As noted by John Dewey, growth is for more growth. Individuals are coping, adjusting--not in a reactive sense but in a transactional sense. Communities and societies learn to reconstruct and plan ahead.

In this arena of power, the ideal is social homeostasis. There is a striving to bring people together, rather than to draw boundary lines. The participants in this arena of power would not, however, propagate faith in like-mindedness achieved through careful indoctrination, where mechanistic cooperativeness leads to apathy. On the contrary, cooperativeness is encouraged within the harmonious bounds of respect, responsibility, and intelligence.

The dynamics of power in the arena of paideia are illustrated in Russell's treatment of government by deliberation or discussion. Russell states:

> The Society of Friends, when any doubtful matter has to be decided, do not take a vote and abide by the majority: they discuss until they arrive at "the sense of the meeting," which used to be regarded as prompted by the Holy Spirit. In their case we are concerned with an unusually homogeneous community, but without some degree of homogeneity government by discussion is unworkable.[24]

Russell goes on to add that the sense of solidarity necessary to make government by deliberation possible may be quite easily realized in the family or in small religious groups. However, with larger groups, he argues, a common peril resting in an outside threat is most often indispensable: ". . . the members of a group hang together for fear of hanging separately."[25]

Within the framework of an analysis of power in the arena of paideia, an important distinction must be added to Russell's discussion of government by deliberation. The first example, dealing with the Society of Friends' deliberation which terminates in "the sense of the meeting," is distinctively suggestive of power within the arena of paideia. But at least implicit in this power arena is its boundlessness. The thrust of paideia reaches beyond specific groups and contexts and ultimately to the community of humans. Situations within which government by deliberation is effective because of the threat of an external peril rooted in the conflict between social groups (as distinct from the threat of disease or famine) are typically situations characterized by the interaction of different power arenas. Most often under these circumstances the power arenas of brute force or the dialectical come to predominance.

One of the most significant elements in this arena of power is the ability to listen carefully and attentively to the expression of other points of view. There can be no emphatic interaction of ideas and feelings unless the parties in a discussion really hear one another. Sometimes what appear to be mammoth disagreements disappear in the clarification of words or in untangling what the issue really is. Input requires talking with others. The focus in dialogue is the quest for common ground and agreement, in contrast with dialogue in the existential arena of power in which the focus is upon individual subjectivity and power in individual action. The point of this multifaceted input is the realization of consensus as distinct from compromise. Dialogue is concluded when input from "the many" results in the attainment of "gestalt" rather than conclusion reached through voting or establishment of quotas.

Just as there are no categories of powerful and powerless, neither are there absolute categories of rights and wrongs. There is the recognition that gray areas do exist. Although there are social guidelines that have grown out of intelligence and experience, there is the necessity for maintaining openness and flexibility. It is not enough to know what, but it is important also to know why. And decisions and actions are couched not only in what *if* but also what *then*.

Focus on Schooling

One of the best operational statements of paideia in education comes from Mary Anne Raywid's *The Ax-Grinders*. She recommends the "indirect approach" to persuasion. This includes active group participation, but:

> Planned and conscious persuasion is not a necessary ingredient, and changes do not depend on the majority's bludgeoning of the recalcitrant few. Usually, the entire group simultaneously undergoes changes in values and behavior.[26]

She views the citizens' group as a fact-finding organization and she believes that "a carefully planned community self-survey of schools should serve to build the kind of commitment which greatly reduces the possibility of attacks on schools." Significantly she includes in her book a supplement on "How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey."

With communication and intelligence operating in a community as an ongoing process there is less likelihood for non-rational confrontation by power blocks; there is less likelihood of direct confrontation and conflict between power groups which reinforce divisions. With "open" communication in a school community, guidelines for "institutionalized change" can occur.

Paideia does not negate the importance of educational administration; it simply places emphasis on staff personnel interaction rather than on line personnel execution of job descriptions and duty prescriptions. The current rhetoric of the "management team" and "democratic administration" is taken seriously. As noted earlier, the community has significant input to the school board through study groups--formal and informal. Members of the community must come to feel that their ideas are wanted and that they do make a difference. Students, also, must be involved in teacher-pupil planning as well as over-all school governance, insofar as this power can be expressed responsibly and prudently.

In the educational setting within which paideia is operative the curriculum of each particular school is developed out of the unique requirements of that community. There are curriculum guides developed out of teacher discussion and agreements as well as with the involvement of community-school resources, librarians, guidance counselors, and lay people. Even then the curriculum guide is not prescribed; it is continuously tried out and evaluated. Curriculum is a live and changing thing. It is both a logical and a psychological outline of content--both as to process and as to product. Both textbook adoption and the building of educational facilities follow curriculum planning.

Learning is perceived as essentially problem-solving, both deductive and inductive. Teaching and learning is a two-way proposition. The focus of teaching and learning is not simply getting the facts of the matter or the big ideas. Because humans are related in their wholeness, teaching-learning involves attitudes, skills, and understandings, whatever the subject matter field.

The curriculum is not compartmentalized into disciplines. Issues, problems, units of study cut across subject matter areas. Articulation and coordination are not limited to a concern for the logical constructs of the disciplines; that is, outlining, compartmentalizing, and relating subject matter in detail without reference to learning theory or the experience of students. In fact, in paideia, articulation includes the consideration of the student's adjustment to evaluation policy,

disciplinary policy, promotion policy, as well as the student's articulation with content. The school is not a place where knowledge is obtained; the school, rather, is people interacting and learning together.

The years of formal schooling are not viewed as a static period of life, a period of preparation. Students, even then, are viewed as citizens, as members the community; students are learning by undergoing and experiencing real life activities, with the guidance of the school-community here and now. Education is viewed as a continuous process throughout life, which does not begin or end at a certain specified time.

Paideia acknowledges that there are common learnings as well as special learnings. There is opportunity for each child to go in his own special direction; but at the same time, the school has responsibility for engaging the individual in discovering with others those cultural universals that are necessary for the student and citizen in the world of today and tomorrow--whether learning mathematics or getting along with people.

This must be emphasized: The student is not a reflection or a creature of the educational establishment. While the student is enculturated (and acculturated) by significant others (and generalized others), these processes are always realized through individual idiosyncratic patterns which become integrated into the community of "civilized" man.

DIALECTICAL

Initially, looking at peripherals, there may not appear to be much difference between the arena of power designated as paideia and the arena of power designated as dialectical. Paideia and dialectical power are each interactive and each is characterized by both the process and the product of policy making. But the differences are dramatic. Paideia is defined primarily in terms of the process of interaction, whereas dialectical power is defined essentially in terms of products, results. In addition, both the process and the product of the power arenas of paideia and dialectic are distinctive.

The product of dialectical power is a synthesis or compromise--not consensus which characterizes the arena of paideia. A synthesis is primarily a descriptive idea structure, logically fitted together. It is characterized primarily by the demands of rationality, logical coherency and completeness. A consensus, however, is more than an idea structure; a consensus is understood, felt, "intuited."

Similarly the process within the power arena of the dialectical is distinct from that of paideia. That is, the processes through which synthesis (or compromise) and consensus are achieved are also distinctive. The dialectical process of achieving synthesis (in contrast to the consensus process of paideia) involves combining disparate ideas in a

very direct way. The dialectical process is characterized by, and dependent upon, individuals and groups assuming conflicting positions both of which are emotionally binding and rationally defended. Synthesis is achieved when positions that are seemingly dichotomous and positions that are asserted with emotion are brought together by the formal demands of logic and rationality. The persons working for a consensus, on the other hand, indirectly and patiently, emphasize agreement as a continuing and always present ingredient of process. Because of this underlying continuous process, consensus does not operate out of conflict, reaction or difference. Hence, there is no necessity for the persons interacting in paideia as an arena of power to feel defeat or failure, for there is no necessity for personally defending a position, or becoming ego involved.

A synthesis, then, is essentially a descriptive, cognitive framework. A consensus, on the other hand, takes on meaning only as it becomes operational in the lives of its participants. A synthesis achieved within the dialectical arena of power may actuate a climate for a consensus, but the force of consistent, coherent and integrated ideas is not so compelling that consensus always follows.

Compromise is also an aspect of the dialectical arena of power. Compromise, like synthesis, posits prior disagreements and conflicts; and, like synthesis, these prior positions are combined into a new idea structure, incorporating elements from seemingly opposite points of view. Yet in compromise, the synthetical integration of ideas into a logically consistent new idea structure is not achieved. Compromise, is, rather, the forced agreement required to maintain at least the semblance of balance and system, or to break a stalemate and alleviate tension in a situation characterized by conflict and confrontation between various interest and power positions. In a compromise, no person or group ever gets everything desired; each side must give up something; neither party is ever truly satisfied with a compromise. Both parties are forever testing the other power forces for weakness to see if a new compromise might be reached which is more advantageous to them than the prior one.

From the perspective of many, herein lies the danger and weakness of power in the dialectical arena, although others find this to be an essential dynamic in progressive change. Operationally a compromise or synthesis is ordinarily held together by a fragile coalition of groups or cliques. When the idea structure of compromise or synthesis is implemented, it becomes abundantly clear that a multitude of areas of disagreement remain. Therefore, any synthesis or compromise by its very nature has built within it its own eventual self-destruction. Not only this, but when forces within the power arena begin to react one against another, some forces become weakened or destroyed and some become extremely powerful. In the synthetic, dialectical power arena, there is most often the pendulum-like swings of power forces. The hope is that when the pendulum swings to extremism countervailing forces will cause it to swing back toward moderation. But this is only a hope.

The dialectical power arena--of synthesis and compromise--is unique in its bipolar reaction. That is, the power play resolves itself into two-party conflict. The propositions are either-or: The world is viewed

dichotomously. Minority parties or alternative points of view cannot long endure in the dialectical climate. The proliferation of alternative points of view will cause the two major forces of conflict to unite to destroy those threats to the dialectical process itself.

The dialectical power process is reflected in the power politics of majority decision-making, especially illustrated by voting. Moreover, there are often very explicit and at least implicit expressions of "right" positions and "wrong" positions on issues and points of view. By the very nature of the dialectical process, positions have a tendency to become hardened and re-enforced. There is the pervasive attitude: if you are not for me, you are against me. Much emphasis may be placed on winning, rather than how one wins.

In the dialectical power arena individuals are not viewed as persons but as representative of power groups. There are "in" groups and "out" groups. The world is viewed as labor vs. management, rural areas vs. urban areas, men vs. women. Even in personal life style, there are established norms and there are antiestablishment norms--whether in clothes or behavior. The individual is viewed in terms of membership in the right clubs or organizations.

Focus on Schooling

The forces of dialectical power are pervasive in American education. This is apparent as we view both the historical development of schooling and the dynamics of the present operation of schools. Many observers of American schooling have pointed to its pendulum-like pattern of change. Like the pendulum of a clock, American education has moved from one extreme to the other.[27] As acceptance of established practice and belief diminishes, the discontented join together in reaction against the mainstream. The resultant struggle so often congeals into the bi-polar and two-party power play of the dialectical arena. Positions come to be defined in terms of either-ors and primarily in terms of status quo vs. change. All that holds together the position (and those groups) for change is reaction against or rejection of established educational belief and practice.*

As the balance of power evens out, compromise becomes necessary. Serious efforts may be made to achieve a synthesis, that is, to develop systematic and logical idea structures which synthesize the opposing positions. So often, however, even when this task is *formally* achieved, the struggle between opposing positions and groups continues. The

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*Dewey's critique of "progressive education" developed in his 1938 book, *Experience and Education*, is grounded in precisely this point. That is, Dewey argues, progressive educators drew their theory and practice out of reaction against and rejection of "traditional" schooling (i.e., the status quo).

balance of power shifts and we move into a new period of another extreme. The pendulum swings, only to come back again at a new time, but in the old place in terms of basic assumptions and philosophical orientations.

This pendulum-like pattern can be illustrated in the historical changes in teaching methodology. The development of teaching methods in American schools has moved from the recitation and one-to-one teacher-student approach of early colonial education, to the Lancastrian or Monitorial System of the early 1800's, through the Pestalozzian methodology of the early common school movement, to the standardized instruction of the age-graded classroom of the late 1800's, through the child centeredness of the early progressive education movement, into the movements for life adjustment and curriculum as academic disciplines of the mid-twentieth century, and finally to the open education of the late 1960's and the 1970's.

The struggles between sectarian and secular influences have also been illustrative of this pendulum-like pattern of the dialectical arena of power. Again, we have yet to escape from the either-or dynamics in our dealing with this issue. Religious perspective is either preached or ignored.

As we examine these illustrations of dialectics in education it is difficult to identify and grasp the progression which is so often associated with a dialectical perspective towards history. What is seen is, rather, the characteristic swinging of the pendulum in American education. The problem rests in the "purity" of the reaction of the predominant position in each new era of our historical development. As we move from one extreme to another we continue to lose sight (out of rejection) of the system and perspective which is superseded. Synthesis, as that which builds upon both sides of the bi-polar reaction, is seldom achieved.

Those who stand for change and innovation claim to be on the side of progress. But to simply assert that an educational change is progressive is not to make it so. Progress requires more than reaction, pressure, and treatment of symptoms.

Another predominant dimension of the contemporary educational scene is also an expression of the dialectical arena of power. This is illustrated in the conflicts between administrators and teachers. The drive towards taking sides so characteristic of dialectical forces has almost eliminated staff personnel in school systems who are not clearly seen as either teachers or administrators. The increasing power of teacher organizations has caused the pendulum to swing to the point where some parents view the teachers as taking over the schools, and the reaction of many parents and lay people may well lead to a new coalition: with administrators and school boards joining the community in reaction against the increasing power of teachers' unions.

This particular dimension of the interaction of individuals and groups with vested interests in schooling is, however, the result of the conjunction of the forces of the dialectical arena of power and

legalistic power so characteristic of large bureaucratic institutions. In consequence, the sides of the dialectic come to be defined in terms of institutionally determined roles. Thus a more expanded treatment of these phenomena will be undertaken in the next chapter.

Chapter IV

THE POWER OF CONSCIENCE AND LAW

The power arenas of ethos and the legalistic are similar, yet very different. They are similar in that they both affirm a prior reality and structure as the basis of power to which every individual must relate. They differ in that ethos is an implicit power arena and legalistic is an explicit power arena. They differ also insofar as ethos is conceptual-spiritual, while the legalistic is perceptual-empirical.

ETHOS

Ethos is an expression of conceptual, emotional, spiritual togetherness. This arena of power is reactive insofar as it takes for granted an *a priori* understanding of the good society and the good life to which all must accommodate themselves. It is not reactive in the sense of viewing the human environment as being composed of "them" and "us." Although groups or cultures may profess opposing ethes, each presumes the pre-existent unity of mankind as encapsulated in their own ethos. The end of ethos is bringing mankind under this umbrella of unity; it is the realization of "heaven on earth." In this regard ethos is fundamentally optimistic and draws its vitality from a positive view of human beings affirmed in man with exaltation. This unity is expressed in the development of group conscience and self conscience as to mankind's great ideals, such as humility, honesty, justice, integrity, and love.

Ethos is the source of Utopianism; it is the origin of the Grand Designs which inspire man. The power of inspiration is characteristic of this arena of power. Ethos posits an Ideal state and Ideal community; and every man has his niche in this ordered society. This society is ordered by the hierarchy of values that are embedded in the forms or principles of Nature, or in the expression of the Great God.

Ethos asserts that the doubt, confusion, anxiety, and frustration found within human experience are secondary if not illusionary. Ethos is that which ties down the mystery of life through affirming a prior reality. Yet, from the outside, ethos is often seen as myth and mystification.

Ethos is partaken of, and the extent to which individuals partake of ethos varies from individual to individual. Herein rests a fundamental character of the power arena of ethos: power is propagated through the rapport of community belongingness but is made viable by leaders who are exemplars of correct attitudes, habits, and under-

standings. The power of ethos is expressed through people power, but not by all people or to the same degree. In this arena of power there are authorities, the "chosen," or the "philosopher kings." They are the members of the community who are looked up to and are respected because they best express the ideals of the community in their thought and action. The obligation of the great mass of humanity is to imitate the behavior and to follow the leadership of those who are most in tune with the ideals of mankind. The power of the charismatic leader is the power of ethos; it is the framework of much of the power of J. F. K., of Ronald Reagan and of Billy Graham.

This arena of power is often structured in ideas; its impact is often seen as expressed through the mind, that is, through the articulation of the Great Ideas of mankind which are the energy that fires the best of human activity. Yet the power of ethos is not reducible to ideas. Its basis is more appropriately viewed as an interaction of the ideational, spiritual, and emotional. Although there are often efforts to fix the character of ethos in ideas, the structure of its unity is obtained through a "rapport" of human living rather than through a body of written law or ideas. In this arena of power, the law is unwritten; it is common law; it is to be understood. It is a kind of spiritual osmosis: A person knows because he knows. He knows by positive affirmation and through example. The power of ethos in bringing man to know, in bringing man to partake of its message and Truth, is expressed through love, encouragement, and insight (and as final resort, ostracism) rather than penalty, punishment, deprivation, and pain. One knows, and comes to partake of ethos, by yea rather than by nay. This arena of power is nutrient: It is like the caring, helpful, modeling relationship that exists in many families.

Focus on Schooling

Traditionally the practice of local control and autonomy of community schools established a structure within which the power arena of the ethos of the local community was a major factor in the determination of school policy and practice. Authority was vested in the "selectman" or school trustee. These individuals held such positions because of their identification within the community as leaders, that is, as representatives of the predominant community ethos. The trustee, even as a layman, possessed the power to hire and fire teachers, to oversee the school program, practice and facilities. In them was vested the power to scrutinize and pass judgment upon the words and deeds of the teacher both within and without the school walls. The trustee's predominant concern was that of upholding the community's ideals. For all practical purposes, the trustee was in everything except name the superintendent and/or principal, yet the source of his power rested in the community ethos rather than his "professional" status.

In this context the teacher in his/her total life was first and foremost responsible for this community ethos. Her chief qualification for teaching (and often the teacher was a she, because of the presumed greater patience and nutrient qualities as well as higher moral standards than the male) was good character. Her power rested in being

a model for the young; her respect was gained through positive reenforcement. Not only did she teach the children of the community to write well, speak well, spell well; but she led them in right conduct--punctuality, neatness, cleanliness, and above all in orderliness. The cultivation of special tastes, mannerisms and social skills deemed intrinsically desirable was central to the teacher's task. Hers, then, was the power of positive thinking and thereby the power of positive living.

If the teacher had not been reared in the community, it was important that she become one of the community and demonstrate her allegiance to the community spirit. Her ideals were to be those which permeated the community. She was to be involved in the community life, with charity and with church work. She lived in the community and her personal life was an open book.

The school in this arena of power was the community center; as a building and as a place, the school symbolized the community ethos. The school doors did not close in the middle of the afternoon when the children returned home. Rather, the school was the place where the community met, where groups organized and worked, and where the community socialized and recreated.

But as communities grew in size and diversity and as the movements to professionalize and standardize the schooling process increased and as school consolidations continued, the power of ethos came to play a diminishing role in school policy and practice. Today, with the exception of isolated rural pockets, the power arena of ethos is a minor factor in public schooling. Some effort has been made, and continues to be expressed, to identify and appeal to a national ethos for inspiration and guidance in the structuring of schooling. Particularly during the Common School era in the middle of the nineteenth century, under the leadership of such men as Horace Mann in Massachusetts, Henry Barnard in Connecticut, and Caleb Mills in Indiana, strong appeals were made to a national ethos as a framework for the development of educational policy and practice. Again, in wartimes there have been resurgences of decision-making rooted in a sense of national ethos. Yet, for the most part, the power arena of ethos has not been central to the development of American public education during the past century.

Recently, however, we find a number of events which express a resurgence of concern for an ethos as a power source for giving direction to the processes of schooling. The community school movement, the efforts in many of our urban areas of various racial, ethnic, and socio-economic groups to assume greater control over their own schools, the concerns over textbook materials in many communities, and the advocacy of a return "to the basics" by many parents and lay people, all have in common a commitment to power in the arena of ethos. Often these concerns are expressed concomitantly with a strong sense of nostalgia for those times within which ethos was a predominant factor in the determination of school structure, policy and practice. These concerns reflect a turning to ethos for inspiration and direction, and a desire to return to the "good ole days."

In spite of changes in the institution of schooling at large, the perspective of the individual teacher in the classroom (or the educator in whatever context he or she may be found--the home, the church, or the shop) continues to be often shaped by ethos with its power to inspire, direct and guide. Yet within the context of institutionalized schooling as we now know it, the efficacy of such a teacher is restricted, truncated and often overwhelmed.

LEGALISTIC

The term legalistic has been chosen to characterize the arena of power within which rules, position, hierarchy, measurability, efficiency and objectification are essential ingredients. The idea system or "philosophy" of both ends and means within the legalistic arena of power is written down, definitively and specifically. Whether that system is one of governance (constitution and law), or religion (Bible and doctrine), or entrepreneurship (economic theory and business rules and regulations), power is executed through the application (including interpretation) of specified prior rules or through extension and/or further specification of the rules. Power is demonstrated in this arena through knowing the rules and knowing how to use them.

Pervading this arena of power is an implicit distrust of the great mass of mankind. To avoid chaos and anarchy (power abhors a vacuum), to create an environment of order, stability and peace, rules must be established with their concurrent rewards and penalties for behavior which is, respectively, rule-abiding and rule-violating. No airy generalizations or broad guidelines are these! They are clearly defined regulations and ends established to govern directly the behavior of individuals.

This arena of power contributes to, even requires, the development of a pyramid-type bureacratic structure within which leadership, authority, rules, and levels or extension of influence are clearly defined. The dramatic growth of bureacratic institutions during the past century reflects the increasing predominance of the legalistic arena of power in the fabric of American life and more generally throughout the "civilized" world.* The careful delineation of the legalistic arena of power includes the explicit specification of the processes of communication. There is a step-by-step procedure in every activity. Man becomes the functional man. Man comes to be defined in terms of organizational needs specified in terms of rules, regulations, and ends.

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*It is interesting to note that our present concept of "civilized," which is associated with life in that part of the world within which bureacratic, technocratic and scientific institutions prevail, is rooted in a presumption which emphasizes the negative characteristics of mankind at large.

The impetus within this arena of power is to create a state of affairs within which *idea* and *behavior* directly, tightly, and specifically correspond. Power is manifested in the power to control behavior.

Positivism, the predominant epistemological theory of modern science and research, has contributed significantly to the extension of power in the legalistic arena. Positivism maintains:

> A passion for definiteness, precision, rigor; the acceptance of clear and distinct ideas only; a dislike of the vague, the abstract; a tough-mindedness, a rejection of mystery and uncontrolled speculation; a predilection for the empirical, for hard facts.[28]

Each of these qualities is also a characteristic of the legalistic arena of power. The presumed neutrality of positivism and its insistence that substantive statements are meaningful only when they are empirical (that is, make reference to phenomena which are observable, objectifiable, and measurable) are consistent with and supportive of the framework of power in the legalistic arena and its predilection for control, for the specific, and for the measurable. Positivism has hence tended to support existing institutional structures within which the legalistic arena of power predominates. Positivism has given credence to the legalistic assumption that solutions to problems are technical in nature and to be achieved through the modification and refinement of existing institutions.

Although the legalistic arena of power is most frequently identified as pertaining to specific aspects or combinations of functions in individual lives, there is a tendency for the demands and expectations of particular organizations to obtrude into every aspect of the individual's life. At issue for every individual is the continuing question of what aspects of one's life are subject to the control of the power of a particular organization or institution.

The armed forces of today's world are an excellent example of this arena of power. In the army, for example, a soldier is a member of a squad, each member of which has a specific function formally defined in rules, regulations, and role prescriptions. The squad is a part of a platoon, which is part of a company, et cetera. Members of the armed forces are trained in very specific skills. There is no discussion, debate, or input at any given level as to the rightness (or appropriateness, necessity, or worthwhileness) of a rule (or regulation or role prescription) or as to the best way of implementing these. Down the chain of command "the answer is." Efficiency and economy are the bywords in pursuit of externally defined and objectified ends. Power is subsumed by and expressed through the effective utilization of this pre-existing and specified structure. Power radiates downward. Whether a member of the armed forces, industry, government, the church, or the educational establishment, the individual goes through "proper channels" and has no power other than that which is invested in his specified role. Civil disobedience, the act of moving outside the rules to challenge them and/or the specified ends, is viewed within this arena as chaos and anarchy.

The individual in order to fulfill the requirements and demands within the legalistic arena of power must be carefully molded. The person is objectified into a physical thing; the specified idea structure (embedded in rules, regulations, and role prescriptions) quantifies the individual and the various aspects of one's performance. The individual within the institutional setting can be measured in terms of *whatness*. Loyalty is defined and expressed through careful allegiance to the rules. Although frequently designated the "paper shuffler," the individual who knows the rules and their use and who becomes proficient in knowing what is on paper and in translating through memoranda that word, will be upwardly mobile--even though loathed and despised by his subordinates.

Power, then, rests primarily with position, is defined by job description, and is illustrated by titles and location of offices. To keep the system from appearing to be static, there is a proliferation of positions as well as rules. So power is further differentiated, and the bureaucracy grows and grows. When the power structure and bureaucracy become too cumbersome for the efficient application of rules, another bureaucracy is created as adjunct.

There are exceptions to the association of power and position within the legalistic arena. A particularly interesting exception occurs in economics. The exchange of goods, service and labor is increasingly controlled with more and more specificity within the legalistic arena of power. In today's world the accumulation of wealth is thus contingent upon one's effectiveness within the legalistic arena of power. The individual with extensive capital may still be able to dramatically increase his wealth functioning outside of any particular economic organization or position within such an organization. Even then, however, one's success is greatly dependent upon an understanding of the legalistic specifications of what one can and cannot do with capital.

In contrast to the arena of ethos, the operation of power in the legalistic arena coerces individuals towards uniformity, as distinct from conformity. The expression of power in this arena strives to so specify and define behavior that individual perspective, creativity, and whim will be minimized and uniformity of behavior will be achieved. That is, within the legalistic arena of power, the predominant pressure is to so specify function and behavior that variation in individual belief, attitude, and value will not interfere with organizational efficiency. Consider for a moment the armed forces: Wearing the specified dress at the specified time, filing the appropriate papers in the prescribed manner and at the right time, following the prescribed routine in inspecting a piece of equipment, et cetera, are what is of overriding importance to the organization. Believing in this behavior, being committed to it, is only secondary. Thus, within the legalistic arena of power, efforts to gain acceptance and internalization of a common set of values, attitudes, standards, ideals--that is, to achieve conformity--are often a relatively minor consideration.

Focus on Schooling

The hallmark of this legalistic power arena in the educational setting is the line-and-staff organization. Its major thrusts are those of accountability, behavioral objectives, control. Power is associated with organizational size; the expression of power within this arena is itself a force for the creation of larger and larger schools and school districts and thereby greater fields of influence and responsibility. All of this is justified in the name of bringing greater efficiency and economy into educational performance as defined by institutionally specified and objectified goals. The mainstay of this power arena is compulsory schooling which requires all individuals between the ages of six and sixteen to be in school.

Within the legalistic arena of power the Bible is the school board policy handbook and the state education code. In school districts within which this power arena predominates the board handbook is often as massive as an unabridged dictionary. Within its covers are policy statements ranging from library codes, extracurricular activity specifications and fees, grading standards, disciplinary techniques, et cetera--carefully coded. The school board policy handbook is in turn supplemented by student handbooks, teacher handbooks, curriculum bulletins, and so on. The curriculum program in such districts is often multifurcated into numerous courses of study leading to graduation; the requirements for graduation are frequently expanded beyond minimum state standards; and in order to cover more material, the school day and the school year may have been extended; a number of texts may be used in each course. Education is a product--and the more the better.

In schools and districts where the legalistic power arena is overriding, students are homogeneously grouped on the basis of carefully established criteria. Such grouping procedures enhance efficiency and facilitate the speed with which students can move through carefully defined programs of study. In such schools there are standard operating procedures for classroom teaching. The way to conduct a science experiment in physics or how to construct a birdhouse in industrial arts is given in detail. Rules of conduct are made clear the very first day of class. Perhaps a merit or demerit system would be used. Physical punishment would be permissible but the procedures for its use would be clearly outlined in school policy. Considerable attention is given to homework, including outlining chapters in history, special projects in science, and book reports in English. Knowledge of facts and formulas is primary in this power arena, for these can be measured.

In this kind of school setting, the teacher's role may be seen as professional, but it is a role tightly specified in policy, rules, regulations, and procedures. The teacher is on the bottom of both the organizational hierarchy and the power structure as well as on the "front line," insofar as it is the teacher who primarily works with the organization's clients. The teacher is the facilitator of learning, the technician, the demonstrator--the show-er, the tell-er. The teacher is the "laborer" of the organization, his raw material are the students--and his product is to be molded through rules, formulas, procedures, and skills. Detailed lesson plans derived from curriculum guides are to be

maintained at all times and periodically checked by a supervisor. A substitute teacher can carry on as though nothing had changed. The teacher *role* is the paramount consideration; and individuals are replaceable.

The "professionalization" of teachers has primarily occurred within the legalistic arena of power. This is most clearly seen in changes in teacher preparation. The primary direction of these changes for many years has been toward more and more training, proliferation of separate programs, and increased specificity combined with restrictiveness of particular programs. Similarly the more recent concern for the rights of students has been dealt with primarily within the legalistic arena of power. For some teachers it was very frightening to be told that students have "rights" as well as "responsibilities" even as students. Now we find the limits of both teacher and student behavior specified in policy, code, and law.

Most educational research, grounded in the positivism of modern science, operates from within the institutional framework of schooling determined by the idea structure of the legalistic arena of power. With few exceptions, educational research accepts the categories, labels, and problems of schooling as defined by the legalistic structure of schooling. The questions of the researcher are most often determined by institutionally defined problems (for example, academic achievement variation and motivation, slow learner, discipline problems, et cetera). The questions are focused upon finding ameliorative solutions which can be implemented within the existing institutional structure. In so doing, educational research accepts the predominant ideological framework of present schools and their correlative assumptions about social control and the nature of education and society. This hides a host of prior questions and gives tacit support to existing conditions.[29] Most significantly, it enhances the foundation and strength of power in the legalistic arena.

Chapter V

THE POWER OF MANIPULATION AND BRUTE FORCE

The final two arenas of power outlined in this work are the arenas of brute force and the manipulative. They are both assertive and reactive in that they take for granted a predetermined quality of life for all of mankind and all of nature--of adjusting to a prior reality, physical and perceptual, which is essentially cruel. It is these common presumptions which give these power arenas their distinctiveness. The assertive stance of both the manipulative and brute force power arenas is the prevailing belief that all life, all human action, all thought and value, are primarily egocentric, even selfish. In these power arenas both the interactive cooperation of paideia and the interactive competition of the dialectical are excluded; the unity of implicit or explicit understanding of ethos and the legalistic is ignored.

MANIPULATIVE

The manipulative arena of power is at times confused with the existential arena of power since the focus in both the manipulative and the existential is upon personal power. But this is like confusing the philosophy of Ayn Rand (objectivism) with that of Tillich. Power in the arena of manipulation, in contrast to power in the existential arena, is selfish. It is a matter of getting *yours*, whether in material things, respect, position, or advantage over others. Life is competitive. The only things in life which are of value are scarce. In the language of the streets, life is a rat race; it is survival of the fittest. The flip side to one man's success is another man's failure. In fact, one man's success is contingent on another man's failure.

Every individual is viewed as at least a potential enemy or opponent. When not calculating and studying the other person to do him in, one ignores him. The other person is to be probed for weaknesses, and then these weaknesses are used as levers for manipulation. This power arena is clouded by suspicion, uncertainty, often paranoia.

No advantage, no matter how slight, is ever left untapped. If one is tall, one towers; if one is handsome, one poses. Recognized as truth is the old cliché: "Clothes make the man." The individual is concerned with living in the right neighborhood, driving the right car. At work, one is concerned with the location of offices and the possession of symbols and accouterments of status, position, and influence. Particularly in dealing with subordinates and peers, the appropriate title must always be acknowledged.

This arena of power ranges from the earliest activity of a young child, in egocentricity, using parents to get its own way to the pseudo-sophistication of the adult who uses stalking horses, *ad hoc* committees, or even physical objects in order to obtain and maintain power.

The possession of "reputed knowledge" which is inaccessible to others often is an effective tool within the manipulative arena of power. This has traditionally been the case with the influence of many "religious authorities" and is frequently characteristic of the influence of individuals within large organizations. Although the extension of education to the populace at large as well as the increase in "scientific knowledge" may in theory reduce the potential for manipulation accruing to the possession of reputed knowledge, it is evident that often today under the guise of having more education or scientific knowledge individuals may function most effectively within the manipulative arena of power.

More direct instances of the manipulative use of "reputed knowledge" have been addressed in the recent Federal "Right to Privacy Act." Particularly within large bureaucratic organizations, individuals have found themselves suspecting (even, at times, knowing) that others in the organization possess "reputed knowledge" to which the individual himself has no access, but which could be, or is being, used against him.

While the existential power arena is shot through by inter-subjectivity of persons, the manipulative power arena is shot through by the ever present attempt to objectify individuals. In this regard manipulative power is similar to the legalistic, yet there is a difference. Both operate through the objectification of individuals. But in the power arena of manipulation, the individual wielding power objectifies all others in the pursuit of self-interest. In contrast to the legalistic arena of power, in the manipulative arena the individual carefully calculates in terms of self-interest whether rules (formal or informal) are to be followed, avoided, distorted, thrown out, or modified. The objectification of individuals within the legalistic arena of power, in contrast to the manipulative, accrues from the insistence that specified organizational rules must apply to *all* in the same manner and the reduction of purpose to the efficient pursuit of measurable organizational goals.

While the personal "aloneness" of existential being is cosmic anxiety, in the manipulative power arena the individual's loneliness--his quiet desperation--is self-imposed, is induced by one's view of the relationships between self and others. Among the slogans of the manipulative power arena are the following: Trust no one; it's every man for himself; and good guys finish last. In this arena of power one lives by "what works"--by what one has learned by experience in the so-called world of hard knocks. Power itself becomes an obsession; the only "reality" is the struggle for power--no universal values or truths for him! The individual is compulsively consumed by a concern with "what one can get by with" in pursuit of self interest--whether in personal relationships or relation to laws and rules.

The distinction between manipulative power and existential power, however, can be fuzzy. In his book *How I Found Freedom in an Unfree World*, Harry Browne views the great break-through in his new freedom as "freedom from the urge to control others."[30] Yet one of his basic principles for avoiding what he calls the identity trap is: "You have to treat things and people in accordance with their own identities in order to get what you want from them."[31] Is this only manipulation in disguise? Browne further posits that: "Everyone is selfish; everyone is doing what he believes will make himself happier."[32] Could this be nothing more than the self-fulfilling prophecy? If the person perceives and reacts in a selfish way, will it not become a selfish world? The existential arena of power, in contrast, does not operate in an arena of principles or assertions of selfish egocentricity or hedonism. How often those among us who profess to be humanists or existentialists are protesting too much--and may in fact be skillful manipulators!

Two recent best-sellers, *Intimidation* by Robert Ringer and *Power* by Michael Korda, are without question excellent descriptions of the manipulative power arena. They are handbooks as well of how to be a successful manipulator. Most significantly, they assume an advocacy posture in asserting that "real" power rests in this arena.

As early as the second paragraph in his book, Michael Korda states his position point blank:

> All life is a game of power. The object of the game is simple enough: to know what you want and get it. The moves of the game, by contrast, are infinite and complex, although they usually involve the manipulation of people and situation to your advantage. As for the rules, these are only discovered by playing the game to the end.[33]

In this power arena, power is not given, it is asserted, taken. As Korda says: ". . . your gain is inevitably someone else's loss, your failure is someone else's victory."[34] Those who see life as essentially an arena of manipulative power never worry about becoming self-serving. "Few people who have power, or want it, can forgo self-advertisement."[35] This kind of power is impersonal. "The more things you can control (and 'things' include people, of course), the more power you have."[36]

Korda describes power in terms of body language as well as in terms of territory:

> The person who wants to use power must learn to control his facial muscles, his temper and himself, and avoid taking "tough stands" where they aren't necessary. Flexibility and cheerfulness are better weapons than brute force, and if used properly have the advantages of making your rivals forget that you're a competitor for power.[37]

As an example of territorial imperative, Korda writes: "Many powerful people, particularly the aggressive ones, prefer to go to other people's offices, since they are invading the other person's turf."[38]

Korda also rejects the view of man as a herding animal:

> His safety lies in his skill as a hunter, his ability to act, and be alone. To *understand* the herd is part of the hunter's skill, to hide in the herd is a useful deception, but he cannot *join* it without sacrificing his essential nature.[39]

Man must not identify with the "community" of either paideia or the dialectic, or the traditions of ethos, or the organizations of the legalistic. Nor can man seek to share his aloneness in the existential. One may join a community or organization, one may claim identity with a tradition, yet one must never become a part of any of these. Man must, rather, act to maintain his loneliness.[40]

In his basic philosophical thrust, Ringer is not that different from Korda. The realities of life are those of the jungle,[41] and they just are--things--not "good" or "bad." "In business, love, and life in general, 'getting paid' is what it's all about."[42]

Ringer also emphasizes the individual as the focus of power. "In *any* type of pursuit in life, you are 'co-brokering' if you avoid the arena--the place where it's all happening--choosing instead to 'work' with your counterparts."[43] Ringer, as Korda, believes in an animalistic world. No naked ape he, though. Ringer is a turtle, but a turtle in a human jungle; and in the human jungle survival and success are contingent upon the cunning and calculating wits of the turtle rather than the physical strength of the ape or lion. One of Ringer's major theses is ". . . reality isn't the way you wish things to be, nor the way they appear to be, but the way they actually are."[44] And "you either acknowledge reality and use it to your benefit or it will automatically work against you."[45]

Both Ringer and Korda see power as operating primarily in an arena which is essentially one of playing games, deadly serious games; power is expressed in winning and losing, in manipulating the human and physical environment to one's own ends. Whatever tools are necessary to win the competitive game will be brought into play--this may include appealing to the "conscience" of others, or to legalism, but only when it is to one's own advantage. The focus of power is the reaction of man-the-animal who has the capacity to "objectify" the world; and as he is able to profit, to take selfish advantage of that world.

Focus on Schooling

In the manipulative power arena there is a pecking order--among teachers, among students, even among school bus drivers and service personnel. In smaller schools, the basketball coach, the cafeteria manager, or even the janitor for all practical purposes may run the school. But the outsider must be cautious in making judgments about the hierarchy of power that exists in the school community, for you really have to be in the situation to get some inkling of where power lies within the manipulative arena.

In this power arena, one's position in the power hierarchy is never certain and the ground rules by which the game is played are never clearly specified; each participant plays by the motto "Keep them guessing"--whether teacher, student, or member of the community. Even titles and job descriptions are of little help. For a long title may be a substitute for real power and duties outlined in a job description may or may not be operational.

Even when there are rules, they may be changed in the middle of things--or so bent that they become contradictions. So-called understandings or gentlemen's agreements often are no more than subterfuges. There is always the implicit mistrust of the motives of others, and selfishness becomes the modus operandi--primarily because that appears to be the safest way to survive. The fine points of a contract are to be read carefully, and to be used to one's own advantage.

Wherever this arena of power predominates, whatever the position, every aspect of the educational enterprise is viewed as: "What's in it for me?" No concern about what's good for students. To collect tickets at a ballgame, to sponsor a club, to assist with any aspect of athletics--there must be extra pay, which may be added to one's salary or come in the form of special privilege. The tendency in recent years to "professionally" negotiate a master contract for teachers has often been an attempt to minimize through the "legalization" of the conditions of employment manipulative bargaining for personal gain.

In administering the school system, the educational leader gets his way by selecting committees which will report back as he wants them to, and he calls this democratic administration. He implants ideas in the student council to carefully manipulate this organism into an arm of the administrator. He shows favoritism by assignment of classes, offices, or extra duties. He can involve his favorite teachers in experimental programs--with fewer students, better facilities, and a lesser work load. He can implement merit pay to reward favorites. He can carefully supervise those who would disagree--either inside or outside of class.

What might otherwise be overlooked as being of minor consequence, now takes on major significance: not standing at the door when students change classes, not notifying the central office when the class goes to the library en masse, or leaving school a few minutes before the time designated by the school policy handbook . . . in each instance the teacher is dutifully notified of the infraction and it is known that each is recorded as a "black mark" in the "black book" with the understanding that either a favor is expected in return or one will be "had."

Neither teacher nor student is allowed to give any real input in decision-making. The "bombshell" approach is often used when informing teachers of decisions made for them. For example, as a teacher arrives at the building in the morning and goes to the mailroom she is greeted by the principal saying: "Incidentally, next semester you will be teaching that new course," or "You'll be a floating teacher next year since we just don't have enough rooms to assign you a particular one." Power in the manipulative arena is often maintained through surprise and confusion: Keeping all others on their toes becomes a basic strategy.

For sure, the chief school administrator perhaps no longer uses physical force against students and staff. His ferule, switch and paddle may have been replaced by the rapier tongue. He can murder at three paces by unleashing a barrage of abuse--red faced and trembling: More commonly, however, the vitriolic language is accompanied by either a leer or a smile. Some teachers worry when an administrator appears to be getting friendly; they wonder when the ax is going to fall.

The relationship that exists between students and teachers simply put is: It's "them" against "us." Either I win or the students win. So whatever the teacher believes he can get by with--ridicule, harassment, demerits--will be used as disciplinary techniques. The important consideration is--does it work for here and now, without any consideration as to assumptions or implications, except as those are relevant to "number one."

Grading is seen as both the carrot and the stick. Grading is used to differentiate the winners from the losers, and the power to give grades is an expression of the teacher's ultimate winning position.

The teacher's desk must be in the front of the room! This leaves no question who is in charge, who is the most powerful. To create a classroom atmosphere of uncertainty, almost "helplessness," on the part of the students will increase the power of the teacher. Small rules must be followed: Write your name in the upper right hand corner of all papers, write on one side only, never fold your paper. Where a student is assigned to sit is a signal to the student as to how the teacher feels about him. Students may be used as helpers--and many students become acutely sensitive to the symbolic rewards of being esteemed as a winner--such as taking attendance, taking care of the goldfish, or taking the lunch money to the principal's office. The teacher astutely grants privilege, even displays favoritism, as a means of achieving power in the classroom. Maintaining control, increasing one's power, become ends in themselves. Teacher *and* student play the game astutely together.

Common occurrences in schools dominated by this arena of power are fist fights, temper tantrums, or crying episodes--all examples of the children's desire for self-expression, for self-affirmation, and for emotional security; for a place of their own, for stability and regularity in their world.

At the college level, among teaching staff, the experience of paranoia is often more intense and an explicit subject of ridicule and wry humor. The struggle becomes that of maintaining one's mental health. Among college students, given less stringent attendance requirements, every excuse is used to escape from class and from campus; there is free exchange of papers and themes and files of old exams are kept in fraternities, sororities, and dormitories; lists of instructors are maintained with ratings of requirements and grading standards. The relationships between students and professors are guarded. Like their professors, the students form into cliques and clans for what is viewed as self-protection.

BRUTE FORCE

The most straightforward, direct arena of power is brute force. It pushes mankind back to its evolutionary, "animalistic" past. It is the law of the tooth and fang.* This power arena is self-centered, egocentric and selfish, as is power in the manipulative arena. Its distinctive characteristic lies in the means through which power is expressed. The hallmarks of this arena of power are physical strength and "firepower." It is survival of the fittest, with the fittest being the physically fit and strong or those who by the gun, knife, or club, can maintain control over the behavior of others.**

As argued in the introductory chapter, to be human is to need power. A person stripped of any sense of the possibilities of empowerment in the other arenas of power--a person whose personal identity or ego includes no sense of the subjectivity of others, nor identification of any sense of community with others (whether that be the community of paideia, the dialectical, ethos, or the legalistic), and who feels he is being manipulated by others rather than manipulating them--will turn to the power arena of brute force. This is so often the "court" of last resort. Race riots frequently are simply this. Yet it is misleading to think only in terms of the individual who has been *stripped* of other possibilities for power. The experience of some individuals may be such that they never even personally acknowledge the possibility of power in any arena other than that of brute force.

The possession of property, and in particular land, has in origin primarily been rooted in the power arena of brute force. On the international scene this is still today frequently the case and in much of Africa it remains the case even domestically. In contemporary societies the right to possess property and land as well as the conditions for the transfer of ownership are specified in law. Yet the ultimate power of the law of the State still rests in the direct physical coercion which the State may utilize. Although the conditions for the use of such force may be specified in law, the individual whose property is being claimed by the State's right of eminent domain and who does not consent to the law, finds himself within the arena of brute force.

This grounding of the possession of land in the arena of brute force is also reflected in the prevailing attitude that trespassing upon

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*It might be argued, however, that this point of view towards the "animal" world is itself a projection by humans of a dimension of human experience which in supposedly "civilized" terms is considered base. Yet it may be that the animal world is every bit as cooperative and interactive as that of humans.

**Although we have used the expression "survival of the fittest" only in the contexts of the manipulative and brute force arenas of power, it can be argued that each of the other power arenas includes as well a distinctive sense for this expression.

one's land is sufficient provocation for the use of brute force. An individual hunting mushrooms on another person's land may well find himself run off at the barrel of a shotgun. This act is grounded in the perspective that this is my land and these are my mushrooms (or quail, or squirrels) and I have the right to defend these with violence.

The brute force arena of power has been significantly influential throughout U.S. history. In earliest New England it was expressed in the use of stocks; and the non-conformist was physically driven from the community. During the Revolutionary years, Tories were tarred and feathered and their property destroyed or appropriated. On the frontier, "respect" was gained by fist or gun; the hangman's noose and the hangman's tree were realities of life. People were literally run out of town "on a rail." The territorial expansion of the United States was achieved with gunpower. Throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries the predominant thesis was that the only good Indian was a dead Indian. Genocide is the ultimate expression of the power arena of brute force.

Although slavery, racism, servitude, and other forms of oppression may exist and be perpetuated within a number of different power arenas, it has often been the arena of brute force which has been essential to the maintenance of these overt forms of oppression.* The overriding fear of serious bodily harm, or even death, has in history commonly been experienced by victims of slavery, racism, and servitude. In the redundant language of the time, indentured servants were said to be "bought and paid for"; they were pieces of property and were to be treated as such. Sterilization, castration, lynching, beatings, rape, the removal of members of families, all were persistent and commonplace realities for Blacks during much of U.S. history. The KKK for years made night a time of terror for many Black Americans.

Brute force as a major thrust in human history has been a significant contributory factor in creating and maintaining male domination in most cultures throughout history. The condition of women has often been that of enslavement; they have been no more than mere chattels. A woman might plead, appeal to rationality or ethos, or be manipulative; yet so long as power in the arena of brute force predominated, she lived with the continuing threat of sheer physical strength. Rape has been the ultimate fear and mortar which bound the relationship. The frontier tradition giving women access to weapons, which they knew how to use, may well have been a significant factor in the liberation of women. So long as social norms kept weapons from women they remained victims. More recently, as power has been dispersed into a number of arenas, one of the basic conditions of the enslavement of women has been minimized; and it is not surprising that women have been increasingly successful in their efforts to become full participants in our culture.

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*The conditions of "slavery" may be defined in law with its directing rules. Most significantly, these may at least be acceded to if not accepted in belief and value by the "slave." Slavery, then, is not necessarily an expression of the arena of brute force.

The condition of children has also been one of victims within the power arena of brute force. Children are not only mentally and emotionally "immature" but they are more fundamentally physically weak. Even today, the power which children must come to grips with is so often that of sheer brute force. In a comprehensive analysis of the law and sovereignty in the lives of children, John E. Coons argues as follows:

> What remains is the practical, insuperable, and permanent obstacle to kids' lib: Children are small, weak, and inexperienced; adults are big, strong, and shrewd. One may liberate children from the law of man, but the law of nature is beyond repeal. There is no way to send an 8-year-old child out of the sovereignty of the parent and into a world of liberty. He will be projected instead into a new sovereignty of one kind or another. . . . Whatever it is will be decided by big people and the elements. Children--at least small children--will not be liberated; they will be dominated.[46]

Whether the adult interest in children focuses upon appropriate moral behavior or economic productivity, power in the child's world so often has functioned within the arena of brute force.*

The relationships between nations have most often in the past, and continue in the present, to function within the power arena of brute force. Airpower, navy power, nuclear power are the by-words. The fear is not simply that one might find oneself living under differing political, economic, and ideological conditions: The grounding fear is that one's physical well-being, even life, is in danger. In today's world, power in this arena is unfathomable, beyond human comprehension, for it is the reality for potential destruction of mankind; that is, the potential for the annihilation of power itself.

In contemporary American, brute force is still rampant. Wife beating, child abuse, and gang warfare are ever-present in our society. Murder, rape, assault, robbery are increasing at frightening rates. Homes are being barricaded, and vicious watch-dogs have been substituted for the moat of the Middle Ages. This has again become a gun-toting society. The fear of mugging has made the night-time street vacant and eerie. As Philip Slater argues, we are experiencing a "democratization" of violence. The poor and the Black no longer serve as "specialized victims" of the power arena of brute force.[47] There is a pervasive atmosphere of fear in this country; there appears to be an ever-present unease about one's physical well-being even among those who have position, status, and wealth. Such physical well-being is generally acknowledged as a precondition for any other well-being, and it is this attitude which has taken us back to our evolutionary origins and the law of the jungle.

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*It is important to note that the rationalizations of slave owners towards their slaves were fundamentally those toward children and they were therefore to be dealt with as children.

A distinctive type of interaction exists between the legalistic and the brute force arenas of power. Much of the history of Western man reflects efforts to utilize the legalistic arena of power to restrict and/or control power in the arena of brute force. Both on the international scene and in the relationship between individuals some forms of brute force are forbidden in law and others are controlled through the specification of the conditions and procedures for their use. In some instances of this interaction the impact is to enhance the scope of power in the legalistic arena. Child abuse laws would be instances of this phenomenon. In other cases, the result is more of a mutually supportive interaction between the arenas of the legalistic and brute force. Capital punishment and restrictions of citizen access to and use of firearms often create conditions of mutual support between the legalistic and brute force power arenas.

Focus on Schooling

Throughout most of history the law of the school has been the law of brute force. The natural condition of the child, his smallness, weakness, and inexperience seem to have sentenced him to life within the power arena of brute force. The whipping post so prominent in front of early colonial schools, the ferule, the rattan, and the paddle have been both symbols and realities of power in schooling. Students have known the sting of the ruler on the knuckles, or the pain that comes from the teacher's fingers digging into the shoulder muscles. Even today the paddle is often one of the most conspicuous accouterments of the classroom--and the students know that it is ever ready for use. In many schools today students anticipate, but know not when the shake-down in the hallway or the raid on their lockers by school authorities will come.

The interaction of the power arenas of brute force and the legalistic is quite evident in the educational context. In some schools, for instance, corporal punishment is forbidden. Yet in others, the conditions and procedures for physical punishment, for searching students, for locker checks, and for student expulsion are carefully specified in detail. Under such circumstances the power arenas of brute force and legalism come to be mutually supportive. The student today knows that expulsion from school is an ever handy tool--this may be written into law, but it is the legalization in the school context of what we have known historically as driving the non-conformists out of our community, or running them out on a rail.

Many observers have noted the significance of the predominance of the most aggressive athletic forms in American culture, and particularly in our schools. It is unusual to find a coalescence of school and community enthusiasm around activities other than those particular sports within which physical size and/or strength predominates; that is, football, basketball, and wrestling. This has often been seen as a desirable cathartic outlet. More recently, however, some have argued

that aggression breeds aggression.* The organized exhortations of fans under the direction of officially sanctioned cheerleaders to "kill 'em," "fight 'em," "beat 'em up," tend to create a field of shared responsibility for brutality; a kind of public mandate is created for engaging with all of one's commitment in the arena of brute force.[48]

The present state of many schools (and not just high schools) has led many to wonder whether schools have become no more than concentration camps, to use Paul Goodman's term, or prisons. Many teachers, lay persons, and critics of schools have asked whether teachers are in fact any more than guards--spending most of their time in maintaining order in a context within which brute force is feared and utilized by all. How many schools are constantly patrolled by teachers, by students with arm-bands, or by uniformed (and armed) police? In how many schools do students carry concealed weapons, either in self-defense or with actual intention to directly enhance one's power through the threat or actual use of brute force? Are these phenomena new? Are they surprising? A careful scrutiny of the history of schooling might suggest a no response.

Given the centrality of the power arena of brute force in the lives of children as they relate to adults, it is not surprising that children often relate to each other on grounds of physical strength. The neighborhood or classroom bully is so often simply acting out a perceived adult role on his less physical peers. Physical size and strength is often a primary factor in the relationships between children, and so often they are simply reading into their own interaction the characteristics of the power arena which structure their relationships with adults. What we find in the behavior of children today seem to be nothing new.

But children not only engage each other in this power arena--with increasing frequency today, students and teachers (or other adult school personnel) relate to each other primarily within the power arena of brute force. But this is not new either. There are well documented cases of schoolmasters being physically "run out of town" by the older male students of the local school. Force is often fought with force. Throughout much of U.S. history a major criterion, possibly *the* major criterion, considered by school trustees in hiring teachers was whether the prospective teacher could handle the community's children *within* the power arena of brute force.

The manifestation of power within the arena of brute force in the school context is itself not new. What is new is the "sophistication"

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*The same concern has more frequently been expressed in regard to violence in film and TV. The amazing sequence of films, each outdrawing its predecessor, which depict man's struggle with the brute force of "nature" or other men is itself a significant expression of today's culture. This, however, moves us away from our focus upon schooling into the broader context of educational agencies in our culture.

of the means of brute force; no longer is this restricted to simply bodily size and strength. Rather, the student may come to school armed with knives, guns, and bombs. But again, this is not surprising for one of the hallmarks of the modern world is the increased sophistication of "firepower," which is today the essential means of power within the arena of brute force.

Chapter VI

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

If power is viewed as a primary need in the existence of every person, then a different way of looking at human relationships must be structured. The foregoing chapters have attempted to do this: to outline alternative power arenas that emerge for every person, early and late, in the very process of living itself. Although the power arenas outlined above are not mutually exclusive, they do demonstrate major stances and climates of human experience and expression. What is of extreme importance is not the description of so-called objective reality from one point of view only; what makes the real difference is the idiosyncratic patterning of views in overt involvement which constitutes the arenas and gives them definition.

A simple illustration will be helpful: An elementary teacher, well-liked and much admired by colleagues, is promoted to the position of principal. The new principal assumes the same kind of personal and professional relationships will continue with her colleagues. But she no longer is a colleague. She strives to maintain the old rapport, but the dynamics of her interaction with others have been reconstituted and the arena of power has changed. Not only has her position within the organization changed, but more importantly she is viewed differently. Those who used to be fellow teachers require her to change. She is only one element in the new configuration of human relationships, constituted by both organizational structure and individual perceptions. She finds herself thrust into new arenas of power charged by the interaction of many viewpoints as well as organizational roles.

In a classroom, the absence of one student can change the climate of a class; it may result in a significant reconstruction of power arenas. Every individual has impact on the situation. A multiplicity of variables--ratio of boys to girls, age, social class, intellectual level, interests, values, and beliefs--interact in a situation continuously and continually, to give structure to the power arena of a classroom. But this structure is itself dynamic and changing and may be significantly altered by the presence or absence of one individual.

Power as a fundamental dimension of human interaction and as a primary human need is significant from the very beginning of each individual's life. The new-born infant expresses his need for power in dealing with others in his life. He is egocentric in his demands for comfort, food, and attention. If his temper tantrums are successful and reinforcing, he continues to use this power. This earliest experience, this most microcosmic power arena, can set the pattern for the rest of the individual's life--how he acts, interacts, reacts--in the family, in the peer group, in the classroom, and on the job.

The family structure--the power configuration of the family--changes with the birth of a child. Every addition to the family changes the dynamics of power. Every member of the family needs confirmation of his importance, of his capacity to act on and in the world in a purposeful manner. To feel unimportant or powerless, is to do injury to his humanity. Even to be disciplined is to be recognized, to matter. This is affirmation of existence. To put it in another way, every family has its pecking order; and deny it as parents may, they do not equally like and love all their children. But in the power dynamics of the family, to be disliked may be as significant as to be liked.

As the child explores the wider world of peer groups and cliques, he tries out various power roles (action and perspective); not just leader or follower, but the court jester, the organizer, the enforcer, the persuader, the disrupter. In this non-adult world--in this less threatening, less emotionally charged, and less permanently binding environment--he discovers the variety of ways he can express power; he tries out roles, he tried to find his niche in the larger power structure. And he observes the tragic ones, the isolates, who seem to belong nowhere, not even with the delinquents; he sees their powerlessness as they try to assert themselves--quarrels or fist fights which are always lost--and then finally the vacant eyes, the apathy, the escape through alcohol or drugs, or crime, even suicide or homicide. For the child or man without power cannot long endure. It is the tragic ones who know Hamlet's question--to be or not to be. Those who have power, in any form, may be unaware; perhaps it is as taken for granted as breathing; it just is.

As the individual moves through the human interconnections of childhood into youth, he moves beyond primary groups and informal peer associations to clubs and societies, to church groups and school teams, to work organizations and political parties. He encounters the complexity of power structures, the overlapping of power arenas, and the subtleties of power positions in all their ramifications. He discovers, often more at the unconscious level than the conscious level, what it means to be a choir director or a superintendent of Sunday school, a coach or a team captain, a precinct committeeman or a ward leader. He may find that the school bus driver and the janitor *are somebody*. All these people in so many different ways are expressing power. And with so many power arenas, there are opportunities for many people to know power. He discovers possibly that it is better to be a big frog in a little pond than to be a pollywog in a large pond. Yet he might discover just the opposite. The individual perception is what really counts; if he feels power, that is enough. He comes to realize that the boss at work whose passing through the office creates fear and trembling may be a pussy cat at home. It matters not where the individual can express his power; all that matters is that he must have it somewhere, sometimes. As the individual grows into adulthood, the power arenas take on ever increasing significance in the individual's life, and the relationships become ever more differentiated and multipatterned.

Adding further to the complexity of experiences with power in the life of individuals is the variety of power arenas encountered in a single day. In a given day an individual frequently experiences a maze

of power arenas as individual stance and situations interact and overlap. Much of the complexity is simply the result of movement--the change of situation; but just as significant are the various stances the individual takes, expressing power or powerlessness, in coping with situations. One moment the individual may be questing for a consensus; and suddenly he finds himself thrust into the manipulative power arena.

A high school teacher may start the day with a particular class which typically seems to require engaging for the entire hour in a struggle to maintain control and order: the teacher's interactions with students and those between students are dominated by manipulation and the threat, even occasional use of brute force. The next hour may be a "preparation" period which is frequently spent with a colleague: although close friends, their political views are diametrically opposed and their time together is often spent in the dialectical arena of "knocking heads" as they accept the continuing challenge to defend the rightness of their distinct positions. The following hour is spent with a class which for whatever reasons openly listens to each other and utilizes the subject matter at hand in coming to grips with their common experiences. During a lunch period in the next hour the teacher is assigned to "patrol" duty and finds the time devoted to enforcing all of the rules and procedures which have been established by the administration to carefully control the behavior of students.

Perhaps many individuals have little preference concerning which power arena(s) may be appropriate in given situations. So long as the individual finds some success, some sense of survival, so long as each arena responds to the need for power, the individual may feel quite comfortable with this flux and flow, and movement from one power arena to another may itself be exciting.

Yet other individuals may develop a strong sense of the appropriateness (or inappropriateness) of certain power arenas in particular types of situations. Such persons may find themselves extremely uncomfortable in a situation which is pervaded by a power arena which from their perspective is totally inappropriate. Even though at times they may be able to continue to maintain their own personal "power stance" in spite of the dynamics of the situation within which they find themselves, they so often discover that their stance is to no avail. The situation denies, even rejects the validity and vitality of the particular stance being assumed. It is as if one were in a vacuum; empowerment is not realized. This may often be the case, for instance, with many individuals who leave the field of teaching. The teacher whose educational commitment is to the power arena of paideia may not find those few classes which occasionally function within this arena sufficiently sustaining.* Although this teacher may be comfortable,

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*It should be noted that some students may find the class operating in the power arena of paideia uncomfortable--that is, empowerment in school for some students rests in the manipulative power arena and finding oneself in a classroom of "cooperative thinkers" offers no sense of fulfillment.

even effective, in the power arenas of manipulation and legalism in other situations, interaction with children in these arenas is intolerable.

Still other individuals may feel that there is a single power arena which is appropriate in all situations. They will normally seek out situations within which this power arena predominates; and when such persons find themselves in situations characterized by other power arenas, they will struggle to convert the dynamics of these situations to those of their preferred arena.

There is another type of interaction between different arenas of power which must also be noted. The preceding discussion has focused upon situations within which individuals are *aware* of the interaction of different arenas of power. In other cases, one individual or group may not acknowledge the fact that different arenas are at play in a given situation. For instance, a person may attribute expertise to another person (whether this be an expertise operative in the arena of ethos or legalism), yet the individual to whom the expertise is attributed is simply manipulating others, knowing well that he really knows nothing that they do not know which is relevant to his control over them.

A more subtle instance of this type of interaction between arenas of power may often be characteristic of the use of physical punishment in schools. This form of punishment is today most often formally specified in detail as to circumstances and procedures. In the mind of the teacher the act of paddling a child may come to be indistinguishable from all of the other acts of her role which are specified within the legalistic structure of the school; that is, the teacher in paddling a child may sense only the power arena of the legalistic; the use of brute force is not even acknowledged. There may be no doubt, however, in the mind of the student that she is in the power arena of brute force.

Given these considerations combined with the distinctiveness of the seven arenas of power and the multiplicity of situations within which people find themselves, it is apparent that the possibilities for the interaction of power arenas are inexhaustible.

Power in American Culture

It is our hypothesis that in American society today, in the lives of its people, and in our schools, the dominating power arenas are those of the legalistic, the manipulative, and brute force. The primary campaign of Jimmy Carter for the Presidential nomination and much of the back-to-basics school movement may express in many ways the power arena of ethos, yet these are exceptions to the common expression of power in contemporary American culture. It is important to note that throughout our analysis of power, we have focused our attention upon schooling. If one is to turn to a consideration of power and education (as distinct from schooling), normative and prescriptive questions and issues are immediately encountered. To do this would be to move beyond the purpose of this work, which is intended to provide an analysis of the nature and

meaning of power and a description of the dynamics of power in the context of schools. It must be recognized that schooling is a basic institution within American culture; and as such, it could hardly be anything in its most common form other than a reflection of the culture of which it is a part.

Consider for a moment the legalistic arena of power in our society. The extension of governmental regulations (at all levels of government) in the lives of people and the increasing complexity of the law itself are self-evident. The predominance of larger and larger organizations, the dynamics of which, if for no reason other than size, function increasingly within the legalistic arena of power, is also self-evident.

In the school context this is reflected, for instance, in the characteristic interaction of teachers and administrators (including school boards). These interactions have come increasingly to be contained within the legalistic power arena. The movement towards system-wide master contracts as well as the increased specificity of these contracts (the negotiation of which often takes months simply because of their complexity) is an effort to achieve a greater control over behavior. In conscious intent this movement is often an attempt to utilize the legalistic arena of power to minimize and restrict power within the manipulative arena;* in consequence, however, this same move is also indicative of the ascendency of the legalistic power arena over not only the manipulative but also the power arenas of ethos, paideia, dialectical and existential. This legalistic movement shatters the assumptions that educators belong to either a community sharing a common set of beliefs about the nature and function of education (ethos) or a community seeking consensus and truth (paideia), as well as the assumption that the division between teachers and administrators (labor and management) is rooted in the dialectical opposition of thesis and antithesis.

The same argument can essentially be applied to a number of other recent trends within the institution of schooling, including behavioral objectives, accountability, merit pay, and systematic budget programs. Arguments for alternatives which are grounded in expressions of power in the arenas of the existential, paideia, the dialectical, or ethos are perceived as idealistic and impossible to implement in the "real" world of schools.

Similarly, the power arenas of manipulation and brute force are fundamental in contemporary society. The conditions of mass urban culture are significant factors contributing to the ascendency of these egocentric arenas of power. The fact that the primary groups within which persons work, socialize, recreate, and live seldom overlap; the separation of work and home, the isolation of nuclear families, bedroom communities, high-rise apartments (whether rat infested or cat infested),

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*The fact that the legalistic is used in this manner to limit power in the manipulative arena is itself indicative of the fact that the power arena of manipulation is also a major factor in the dynamics of schooling.

to mention just a few, create a context within which interest comes to be seen as ego need.

The technological, machine-dominated world within which we live is also an important factor in increasing the predominance of the manipulative and brute force power arenas in our lives. Since this phenomenon is not as often recognized, a more extensive discussion is required.

Man's relationships to machines--that is, tools and instruments--are essentially manipulative. Even the relationship between the artist and his brush is a manipulative relationship. It is, however, when the artist as artist is successful, a manipulative relationship subsumed by a creative act of expression and communication. A plow may be an instrument of partaking in an ethos of nature, or it may be an instrument of accumulating wealth so that one can spend the winters in the Bahamas.

In the world of today it is evident that our manipulative relationships with machines most often occur without any personally meaningful context which reaches beyond individual self-interest. More and more time is devoted to simply acting manipulatively and perceiving manipulatively as we interact with machines; and when we find no grounds for any relationship with other humans except the impersonal qualities characteristic of mass living, it is understandable that we come to relate to other persons manipulatively as well.

Writing in 1938 Bertrand Russell developed the following argument in *Power: A New Social Analysis*:

> Power over men, not power over matter, is my theme in this book; but is it possible to establish a technological power over men which is based upon power over matter. Those who have the *habit* of controlling powerful mechanisms, and through this control have acquired power over human beings, may be expected to have an *imaginative outlook* towards their subjects which will be completely different from that of men who depend upon persuasion, however dishonest. Most of us have, at some time, wantonly disturbed an ants' nest, and watched, with mild amusement, the scurrying confusion that resulted. Looking down from the top of a skyscraper on the traffic of New York, the human beings below cease to seem human, and acquire a faint absurdity. If one were armed, like Jove, with a thunderbolt, there would be a temptation to hurl it into the crowd, from the same motive as in the case of the ants' nest.[49] (Italics added.)

It must be noted, however, that it is the relationship between man and machines which is manipulative. Thus not only do men manipulate machines, but machines may manipulate men. Innumerable books have dealt with man's relationship to technology and machines. One of the more telling points in all of these analyses is subtly embedded in Philip Slater's discussion of the Viet Nam war in his book *The Pursuit of Loneliness*. For Slater, man's relationship to technology may become "habitual" as suggested by Russell; but the impact of technology is not restricted to those with the habit of controlling it. In a chapter

titled "Kill Anything that Moves," Slater quotes the pilot of a Huey helicopter as follows:

> I ran that little mother all over the place hosing him with guns but somehow or other we just didn't hit him. Finally he turned on us and stood there facing us with his rifle. We really busted his ass then. Blew him up like a toy balloon.[50]

Part of Slater's argument, elliptical as it may be, is that the "little mother" down there is *us*, in the normal circumstances of our lives--that is, we are the victims of technology. Our typical experiences with technology are as its tools or instruments; our experience with technology is primarily one of a sense of powerlessness. Finding ourselves in control of technology, having the machine as our tool, is, Slater argues, a rare experience. It is not surprising, then, when we are given the "firepower" of a Huey helicopter that we will use it with vengeance. Riding a bicycle on a city street is compelling evidence of how so many individuals act with 385 mechanical horses at hand--the automobile becomes a mechanical extension of individual ego; encountering this "ego" can be frightening.

What does this have to do with schooling? Our manipulative relationships to things and machines are significant factors that shape the structure and process of, and thought about, schooling. Educators, even parents, have come to view schooling in terms of facilities, equipment, and buildings. For over one hundred years educators and school boards have borrowed procedures, techniques, and points of view from the industrial context of the production of products. Have we not increasingly come to view the output of schooling as a product? The recent refinement and sophistication of techniques for controlling human behavior developed in the "social" sciences express the same assumptions about man's relationship to other men. And we increasingly find behavior modification techniques utilized in the classroom and in counseling students.

The grounds of the domination of the egocentric manipulative arena of power can be found in other circumstances of our culture, as well. It will be recalled from Chapter I that Mumford argues that in 1727 the meaning of power took on a technological reference to any form of force or energy *applied to work*. Although this is still a basic meaning of power, what must be recognized is that the meaning of work has changed dramatically since 1727. Work today for so many individuals has been reduced to doing something (it matters little) for a wage at a time and place and in a manner dictated by someone else. The person today seldom finds a strong connection between his individual work efforts and the efforts or well-being of others with whom he is engaged. Viewing one's own work efforts as a contributing responsibility within a group of humans closely interdependent upon each other has been lost. Work today is egocentered. The adolescent gets a part-time job not to add income to the family, but rather for personal freedom as an individual consumer. But the adolescent has been socialized for years into this view of work. For in the child's world today, work is no longer an involved part of a life shared with adults. Rather, the child's work today is in school; it is school work--where he is expected to function as a solitary

autonomous individual, that is, as an isolated egocenter pursuing self-interest and self-responsibility.

The pervading power arena of brute force in the contemporary world was discussed at some length in Chapter V. Note was also made in that chapter of the inherent condition of the child as small, weak, and inexperienced which so often sentences the child to extended experience within the power arena of brute force. Additional comment on this particular phenomenon is appropriate at this time. It may be argued that in recent times nothing has changed in this regard; that is, children are still, and always will be, small, weak, and inexperienced. It might even be argued, since there is less toleration of the physical punishment of children today, that the child of today is less subjected to the power arena of brute force than her brothers and sisters of times past. This argument, however, requires more careful scrutiny.

It must be recognized that in the past the growing child found herself not only small, weak and inexperienced but she also found herself within the arena of power of a strongly held and extensively shared ethos. Wherever the child went, this common ethos was most likely encountered. A consistent pattern of behavior expectations, tastes, beliefs, and values was characteristic of both the extended family and the broader community, including the school. Today's child no longer experiences the ethos characteristic of a homogeneous community. Rather the child of today encounters in the neighborhood, in school, even at times in the home (although there are most likely only two adults there in contrast to a number of adults in the past), a variety of conflicting *a priori* claims about life and reality. In addition, today's child is no longer an involved part of the family and community life which expressed that common ethos of the past. Rather, children today live in a separate world; a separate world of work (school), a separate world of social-recreational life (with peers), and a separate world of things (represented in the vast assortment of "children's" things found in the child's room and in specialized TV and radio programming for children).

Although adults (parents and teachers) may at times attempt to interact with children within the power arenas of paideia or the existential,* most often the child encounters either the legalistic structure of the school or a number of different adults struggling to impose their own ethos upon the child. In either case adults frequently turn to brute force as "an instrument" of enforcement. Yet for the child, this is experience with the power arena of brute force, rather than ethos or the legalistic. It may well be, given the conditions of the child's world today, that experience within the power arena of brute force is more characteristic of the child's life today than in times past.

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*The dialectical arena of power is seldom encountered by the child since we rarely attribute sufficient legitimacy to the experience and viewpoint of children to consider them competitors or representative of an opposing position. Recently, however, some advocates of the liberation of children have challenged these assumptions.

The Legitimation of Power: Power and Authority

Typically discussions of power turn to or include a consideration of the legitimacy of power. This move invariably leads to a discussion of authority. The word *authority* in its most common usage is essentially a normative concept entailing the legitimacy of certain types, uses, or modes of power. Consider for instance, the following passage from R. S. Peters' *Ethics and Education*:

> "Power" basically denotes ways in which an individual subjects others to his will by means of physical coercion (e.g., infliction of pain, restriction of movement), or by psychological coercion (e.g., withholding food, water, shelter, or access to means of attaining such necessities), or by the use of less dire forms of sanctions and rewards (e.g., by manipulating access to material resources and rewards, sexual satisfaction, etc.), or by personal influence such as hypnotism or sexual attraction. Authority, on the other hand, involves the appeal to an impersonal normative order or value system which regulates behavior basically because of acceptance of it on the part of those who comply.[51]

In terms of the present analysis this distinction would seem to suggest that only brute force and manipulation denote arenas of power while paideia, dialectical, ethos and legalistic make reference to "arenas of authority." The existential is apparently excluded entirely.

The move made by Peters and the resultant distinction is typical of analyses of the relationship between authority and power in which it is argued that authority rests in the attribution of legitimacy to the source of power by the subjects of power because of the acceptance of a normative order. It must be noted that this does considerable violence to our common use of the term *authority*. We speak of the authority of the teacher, for instance, to establish the curriculum, to administer a system of rewards and punishment, and to evaluate student learning relative to the established curriculum.[52] Yet the student's compliance with the teacher's expectations and demands may have nothing to do with any appeal to an "impersonal normative order or value system." Rather, the student complies because of physical or psychological coercion and/or the manipulation of sanctions and rewards. That is, in Peters' terms, the student is experiencing power rather than authority. Our normal use of the term *authority* would, however, still lead us to insist that the teacher has authority. The source of confusion rests in the failure to make explicit differences in the source of the attribution of legitimacy for acting in certain ways (that is, the source of authority). The school as an institution may attribute to the teacher the legitimacy of acting in certain ways with the intention of achieving certain goals; more specifically, the institution may authorize the attempts of the teacher to change or influence students in particular ways. This legitimacy or authority may be invested in the teacher on the basis of "an impersonal normative order or value system" (with which the agents of the institution comply) but it in no way entails compliance on these same grounds by the subjects of the teacher's authority to use power.

The analysis of Max Weber is helpful in identifying the relationship between power and authority. In the context of a consideration of domination, Weber argues that motives based on "custom, personal advantage, purely affectual or ideal motives of solidarity, do not form a sufficiently *reliable* [italics added] basis for a given domination. In addition there is normally a further element, the belief in *legitimacy*."[53] Weber then moves directly to an analysis of types of legitimacy or authority. From the perspective of Weber's sociological analysis of power the consideration of authority is encountered in the context of a question of the *reliability*, or efficacy if you like, of power.

A more telling point, however, is found in the same context of Weber's analysis of domination and legitimacy. Weber argues that "every genuine form of domination implies a minimum of voluntary compliance, that is, an interest (based on ulterior motives or genuine acceptance) in obedience."[54] Although it must be noted that for Weber domination does not include "every mode of exercising 'power' or 'influence' over other persons," we would argue in the context of our analysis that "a minimum of voluntary compliance" applies to the subjects of power regardless of the power arena. To obey the demands of someone holding a gun to one's head is to choose to maintain some basic individual power. Power is contextual, and the contextual limits may be drastic, but compliance with power regardless of the power arena is at least in some limited sense empowering and related directly to the pursuit of individual interest or purpose. The demands, or the force behind them, may seem inappropriate even unjust or immoral; yet the individual acknowledges that his needs for power are best served through compliance. Even to choose to refuse the demands of the holder of the gun is to choose one's power arena; although it may be one's final act, it may also be to choose one's identification with a cause which is right (ethos) or it may be the ultimate act within the existential power arena. As we live our lives, as we move through each day acting, reacting and interacting with our world, we choose the power arenas within which we will engage in our efforts to fulfill our needs for power. In so doing, and in these choices, we legitimate or attribute authority to each arena of power within which we engage.

By creating a school structure and process of power relationships which students can deal with primarily in terms of manipulation and brute force we contribute immeasurably to the legitimacy or authority of these power arenas. Insofar as we compel all of our children to spend a vast amount of their formative years within this context, it is not surprising that the power arenas of brute force and manipulation remain predominant and legitimate in the lives of so many people. As discussed in Chapter V, this often occurs much earlier in the child's life within the context of the family. When the family interactions are primarily within the arenas of manipulation and brute force, the child of age three may become a master of manipulation. Most significantly, whether this occurs in the home or the school, these power arenas are given legitimacy and the child becomes "an authority."

The inherent legitimacy of each power arena rests also in the distinctive idea structure of each arena. Within the separate arenas of power, the respective idea structures serve to legitimate (attribute authority to) that power arena and the use of power within the arena. This idea structure of the world we live in, of the nature of humans and their interactions, of what is of value and important in life, when formally developed constitutes a philosophy. To deny that there is a philosophical grounding for brute force and manipulation which legitimates these power arenas is to deny, for instance, that Fichte was a philosopher. His solipsistic idealism provides a most sophisticated legitimation for the egocentric power arenas of manipulation and brute force.

There is an opposite tendency, however, which is just as mistaken. Many acknowledge the philosophy (formal or informal) behind power in the manipulative and brute force arenas but at the same time believe that these are the only power philosophies or arenas. Peters' distinction between power and authority is characteristic of this perspective. This claim is often combined with denouncing all power and power philosophies themselves. That is, only the philosophies of coercion, or egocentric philosophies, are seen as power philosophies and these are to be rejected. This move is grounded in the refusal or failure to acknowledge that manipulation and brute force *are not the only arenas of power.* But, as is argued in the present analysis of power, there are a number of power arenas and subsequently a *number of power philosophies.* The idea structure within each power arena is itself a power philosophy. Hence, to argue over the legitimacy of different power arenas is to argue over philosophies and conversely to argue over philosophies is so often to argue, at least implicitly, about which power arenas are legitimate. Hierarchical arrangements of power are at least implicitly hierarchical arrangements of philosophies.

NOTES

1. Walter Feinberg, *Reason and Rhetoric* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1975), p. vi.

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3. Robert J. Ringer, *Winning Through Intimidation* (New York: Funk, & Wagnalls, 1974).

4. "The Power Boys: Push Pays Off," *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine*, 107, No. 3 (January 19, 1976), pp. 60-61.

5. Lawrence Kohlberg, "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 56 (June, 1975), 670-677.

6. John Dewey, "What Psychology Can Do for the Teacher," in *John Dewey on Education*, ed. Reginald Archambault (New York: Random House, 1964).

7. Adolf A. Berle, *Power* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1969), p. 37.

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11. Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *Coming of Age in America* (New York: Random House, 1965), p. 4.

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13. Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968).

14. Russell, p. 12. In this context Russell is critical of the economic determinism of Marxists as well as orthodox economists.

15. Ibid., p. 15.

16. Ibid., p. 11.

17. Weber, p. 53.

18. Russell, p. 35.

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20. Anthony J. Polemeni, "Research and Teacher Power," *Educational Leadership*, 33 (April, 1976), 494.

21. Herbert R. Kohl, *The Open Classroom* (New York: A New York Review Book, Random House, Inc., 1969), p. 14.

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25. Ibid.

26. Mary Anne Raywid, *The Ax-Grinders* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), pp. 207-221.

27. Russell L. Hamm and Michael P. Benway, "A Bicentennial Essay: Progress . . . or Paradox?" *Junior High-Middle School Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (Winter, 1976).

28. Clive Beck, *Educational Philosophy and Theory: An Introduction* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), p. 277.

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30. Harry Browne, *How I Found Freedom in an Unfree World* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1973), p. 320.

31. Ibid., p. 23.

32. Ibid., p. 50.

33. Korda, p. 3.

34. Ibid., p. 4.

35. Ibid., p. 27.

36. Ibid., p. 42.

37. Ibid., p. 12.

38. Ibid., p. 140.

39. Ibid., p. 261.

40. For a related analysis of loneliness in American culture, see Philip Slater, *The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point* rev. ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976).

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42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p. 92.

44. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

45. Ibid., p. 14.

46. John E. Coons, "Law and the Sovereigns of Childhood," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 58 (September, 1976), 22.

47. Slater, p. 42.

48. For a comprehensive analysis of these phenomena, see Clifford Bryon and Robert Horton, "School Athletics and Fan Aggression," *Educational Research*, 5, No. 7 (July-August, 1976).

49. Russell, p. 31.

50. Slater, p. 50. The near-identity in language and perspective is striking between this passage and a quotation Russell includes in his work taken from Bruno Mussolini's personal account of his experiences from the air in the Abyssinian War.

51. R. S. Peters, *Ethics and Education* (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1967), p. 151.

52. See David Neil Silk, "Aspects of the Concept of Authority in Education," *Educational Theory*, 26 (Summer 1976), 271-278.

53. Weber, p. 213.

54. Ibid., p. 212.

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